

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

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ART. I.—1. *A Popular Life of George Fox, the First of the Quakers. Compiled from his Journal, and other Authentic Sources; and interspersed with Remarks upon the Imperfect Reformation of the Anglican Church, and the consequent Spread of Dissent.* By Josiah Marsh. 8vo. London: Charles Gilpin.

2. *A Journal, or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the work of the Ministry, of that ancient, eminent, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox; who departed this life in great peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690.* Sixth Edition. 2 Vols. Leeds: A. Pickhard.

GEORGE FOX was an extraordinary man. His life is a study, worthy the attention both of the philosopher and of the Christian. Diverging from the ordinary course of human action, he pursued a path distinguished by many striking peculiarities, and which requires, for its due appreciation, an intelligent estimate of the influences of his times, and a knowledge of the effects which he wrought in society. In some of the more obvious features of his character, he was identical with the spiritual heroes of the papal church. His earnestness and zeal, his self-sacrifice, his unwearied labors, his renunciation of secular good, his patient endurance of persecution, his stedfast perseverance in what he deemed duty, his perpetual reference to some other code than that which his contemporaries recognised, and his

ultimate mastery of the difficulties which opposed his early progress, remind us of the better features of St. Francis, Ignatius Loyola, and other champions of the papal see. To a superficial observer, this resemblance may prevent a detection of the many points of discrepancy which existed, and he may consequently be confounded with the class whose religious sympathies were overlayed by the clouded imaginations of the fanatic. There is an easy method of solving such facts as constituted the life of George Fox, and, unhappily, this method has usually been resorted to. To say nothing of the polemical productions of his opponents, in which, as matter of course, we look for misrepresentation, and an exaggerated view of supposed or real deformities, we cannot turn to the historians of his day without perceiving proofs of partial knowledge, precipitate judgment, and the utter absence of a calm and philosophical spirit. Misconceptions have been transmitted from father to son, from one generation of writers to another, until the truth has been lost sight of, and the very disposition to recover it almost extinguished.

To confound George Fox with the class of enthusiasts, to suppose that the facts of his history are sufficiently explained by an introduction of the deleterious element which is uppermost in such minds, is to discard philosophy, as well as to do violence to the laws of Christian charity. That there were points of character in which he assimilated to this class, is not to be doubted. They lie on the surface of his biography, and are so frequently recurring, as to force themselves on the attention of every reader. Hence their prominence in general estimation, and the temptation they hold out to a hasty and unphilosophical judgment. If, however, we would estimate the founder of Quakerism aright, and would deduce from his history the profitable lessons which it reads, we must look below the surface, must take cognizance of the whole case, must connect the outward and visible with the inward and divine. Immediately that this is honestly done, a new man appears to view. There may be much which we condemn, many things which we question, but the tokens of a pure conscience and of faith unfeigned, will, notwithstanding, force themselves on our notice, and command respect. We shall not be suspected of approving some of the peculiarities of George Fox, but we should be wanting in the perception of excellence, or be unfaithful to our conviction of its existence in his case, if we did not unhesitatingly avow our admiration of his virtues, and our gratitude for the services he rendered to his race. Earnest, to the very verge of fanaticism, frequently coarse, and sometimes bitter in the denunciation of opponents, magnifying the importance of trifles, and occa-

sionally bent, to all appearance, on provoking the collision from which he suffered, he yet possessed a large measure of the genuine Christian spirit, was tenderly alive to the best interests of his fellow-men, asserted the sacredness of conscience, and brought forth to public view some neglected, but most momentous, doctrines of the Christian system. They who listened only to his rebukes, or marked only the peculiarities of his apparel and demeanor, knew little of the man. They saw merely the outward and perishable, that which was doomed to decay, and which stood in contrast to, rather than constituted, the inner and spiritual life. Over the whole there was spread the fine odour of Christian sanctity. His spirit struggled with the infirmities of human speech and thought, frequently confused in its utterance, sometimes erroneous in its views and judgments, but at all periods, and under every circumstance, the honest and fearless advocate of what was held to be the truth of God. This was the main stay of Fox, the point from which his character and life must be viewed, if either of them be estimated aright.

His temperament and early training will account for much which followed. The youth and the man were parts of the same human being; and it is impossible to comprehend the latter without an intimate acquaintance with the former. Had he known less of religious truth, his early melancholy might have degenerated into superstition, and, combined with his earnestness, have stimulated him to emulate the labors of papal worthies. On the other hand, had he escaped some misconceptions of religious truth into which he fell in early life, he might have proved a yet more illustrious reformer of the church, and have left on its institutions a wider, if not a deeper, impression. As it is, however, we rejoice in what he did, and yield to none, even of his own community, in devout thankfulness for his appearance. 'He was a burning and a shining light.' Would that the church were visited by a thousand such!

Two considerations are needful to a correct appreciation of the labors of George Fox. The religious opinions he promulgated betokened the reaction of the public mind. They were the natural product of one of the laws of our nature. Religion had, for ages, been unspiritualized. Its distinctive glory had been lost sight of. It had been treated as a thing of forms and ritual—an outward service, rather than an inward and spiritual homage. This condition of things had attained its perfection in the Romish church, and too much of it was retained in the English Reformation. The temper of Elizabeth was essentially popish. Her protestantism was an accident, and the whole force of her prerogative was employed to retain in her hierarchy as much of popish forms as consisted with its pro-

testant name. The best portion of the clergy struggled against this policy, but the iron character of the queen, aided by her prelates, Parker and Whitgift, compelled their silence. Hence it resulted that the popular estimate of Christianity which continued to prevail, was essentially one with that of the Romish church. A few devout men protested against it, but the crown and the mitre combined to suppress and punish them. So long as this restraint was continued, the enormous evil endured, but no sooner was it withdrawn than the opposite extreme rose to view, and in the ministry of George Fox found a befitting and able advocacy. Quakerism was, in fact, the recoil of the human mind when released from priestly domination. It was an earnest, deep-toned, and unmistakeable protest against the incrustations which had been permitted to overlay and deface the fair form of Christianity.

Another consideration which must be borne in mind, in order to a correct estimate of the life of George Fox, is the character of the times in which he appeared. It was an epoch of intense excitement. The meeting of the Long Parliament betokened a new era. Old forms of authority were despised both in the church and in the state. The name of the king was invoked against the occupier of the throne ; and Strafford and Laud, as the representatives of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, were led by their offences to the block. New sects and schisms sprung up on every hand. Each man became a law to himself. The old landmarks were removed, and freedom of thought and speech was prodigally used as the birthright of every Englishman. The same law prevailed through each department of the community. The senate and the church, the press and the army, alike manifested its power. Patriots and divines, the soldier and the scribe, appealed to new principles, asserted new rights, and stood forth in the conscious attitude of freedom to do battle for human liberty. George Fox partook of the pervading spirit. 'Like Cromwell, though in a different way, he was the offspring of the civil war. Each took his complexion from the aspect of his times ; the one devoting himself to the pursuits of war, and the conduct of government, the other to the diffusion of principles which were supposed to approximate more nearly than any existing creed, to the spirituality of the Christian system. Both the Protector, and the father of Quakerism, found ready to their hand the materials with which they worked. The one rose to power on the combined operation of political and religious influences ; the other succeeded in his vocation, by steadily adhering, through evil report and through good report, to what he deemed the disenthralment of the church, and the vindication of her purity. They were alike

enthusiasts in their respective departments, though the masculine intellect of the former admitted an infusion of worldly policy, from which the ardent faith of the latter was wholly exempt.*

George Fox was born at Drayton, in Leicestershire, in July, 1624, at a memorable period of English history. The reign of James I. was drawing to a close, and thoughtful men of every class were looking to the character of his successor, as that which would determine the complexion of coming events. The son of Mary Stuart had bitterly disappointed the hopes of the nation. An unnatural son had proved a feeble and pedantic monarch, whose personal vices induced contempt, while his arbitrary government aroused opposition. One important service, indeed, was rendered by James. It was farthest from his intention, but the elements of his character conspired to produce it. An interval was needed between the iron rule of Elizabeth and the fierce struggle of the civil war, and that interval was supplied by the reign of James. Yielding neither to his predecessor, nor to his son in his notions of the prerogative, he was disqualified by the radical weakness of his character from reducing his theory to consistent practice. Irresolute and timid, he was incapable of the vigorous policy which alone could crush the rising spirit of English liberty. His measures, therefore, only served to irritate. They aroused opposition, stimulated inquiry into the foundations of government, and habituated our earlier patriots to those parliamentary discussions which ultimately abolished both kingship and prelacy.

Such was the period of Fox's birth. Buckingham was yet in the ascendant, and he was speedily succeeded by the apostate Wentworth, and the semi-papal Laud. The father of Fox was a weaver, a man of irreproachable character, familiarly designated by his neighbours 'Righteous Christie.' He was a member of the Church of England, and trained up his son in regular attendance on its services. The childhood of the future Quaker was remarkable for its 'gravity of deportment, and a serious turn of mind.' The scriptures were his daily companion, and he turned with indifference, or contempt, from all the ordinary occupations and amusements of his age. His master noted his turn of mind, and employed him principally in tending his sheep. The solitariness of this occupation was congenial to his temper. He loved it, and cherished the musings which it favored. The shadow of coming events was at this time visible. The sounds of preparation were audible on every

* Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. ii., p. 510.

hand, and, judging from his future character, we cannot doubt but that the atrocities of Laud, and the heroism of Leighton, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were amongst the subjects of his musings, and went far to determine the complexion of his career. It was now the very crisis of civil and religious freedom. All sedate and thoughtful men felt it to be so; and by the fire-side and on the highway, in the market and at the church, men talked together of the patriotism of Hampden, and of the cruelties of the self-styled ministers of God. The wants of Fox were few and very simple, and as he possessed some small property, he determined to relinquish trade in order more completely to devote himself to a religious life. It was one of the errors of his day to attach undue importance to mere impressions. The age of direct communications was supposed to have recurred, and in the dreams of the night, or the strong impulses of the day, Fox heard the voice and traced the will of God. Distressed, when about nineteen years of age, by the light demeanor of a cousin, he spent the night in prayer. 'I did not,' he tells us in his *Journal*, 'go to bed that night, nor could I sleep, but sometimes walked up and down, and sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord, who said to me, "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be as a stranger to all." His submission was immediate and unreserved. It never occurred to him to inquire whether the communication was divine. He confided in it as such, and in the middle of 1643 left his relations, 'and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young.' This action foreshadowed his future life—its weakness and its power, its error and its high-mindedness. Whilst regretting the one we must not lose sight of the worthiness of the other, nor in our admiration of the latter, must we suffer ourselves to be beguiled into an approval of the former.

' During this voluntary banishment from society, his time was spent in fasting, prayer, and a diligent perusal of the scriptures. At Barnet, he frequently shut himself up in his chamber for days together, and at other times he strolled about in the solitary chase, waiting upon the Lord in meditation and prayer, and at times suffering greatly from 'strong temptations almost to despair.' When in this state of mental trial and anguish, he says, 'It was opened to his understanding, how it was that Christ had been tempted; yet, when he contemplated his own condition, he was filled with astonishment, and exclaimed, "Was I ever so before?" He remained for a considerable time under the influence of these depressing feelings, fluctuating between doubt and despair, and at times almost driven to the perpetra-

tion of sin ; but ' God, who knew the integrity of his heart, both supported and preserved him.' His serious deportment at various times attracted the notice of different religious professors and teachers, who sought his acquaintance ; but he perceiving that they neither acted nor lived up to the principles they professed and taught, soon grew afraid of them, and shunned their company.'—Popular Life, p. 30.

His state of mind at this period was deeply distressing. It partook largely of the religious character, but was not exclusively such. A melancholy temperament long indulged had seriously impaired his health, and required for its correction physical treatment as well as religious culture. Mr. Marsh will deem us mistaken in this view, but we appeal to Fox's own Journal in proof of its correctness. After relating the failure of his visit to Dr. Cradock, he says,—' I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood ; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head, (though they endeavoured it,) my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity ; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed.'

During this unsettled period he adopted the peculiar garb which he subsequently wore, and by intense meditation on the phraseology current amongst religious people, and the notions they cherished, ' it was manifested to him that God, who created the world, does not dwell in temples made with hands.' ' From this,' says Mr. Marsh, ' he perceived that the church of Christ was a living church, and therefore he could never after apply this name to a building, but always called the churches steeple-houses.' He now (1646) withdrew from the parish church, believing that his spiritual interests would be better consulted by ' a secret waiting upon God.' His friends were grieved at this step, but his own conscience was clear, and their expostulations and counsels failed to induce him to return. The early part of the following year was spent in a similar manner. He secluded himself from all earthly companionships, ' fasting often, and often sitting in hollow trees till night came ; and not unfrequently passing whole nights mournfully in these retired places.' Like Bunyan's pilgrim, he ' wallowed for a time ' in the Slough of Despond, and was ' grievously bedaubed with the dirt ; ' but the time of his deliverance was now drawing nigh. Gleams of light occasionally shot athwart the gloom, and their effect was surpassingly beautiful. ' Though my exercises and troubles,' he says, ' were very great, yet were they not so con-

tinual but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery.' His own account is deeply touching, and suffers from any paraphrase. We envy not the philosophy nor the piety of the man who can turn from it with a sneer. We give it in his own words:—

' Now after I had received that opening from the Lord, that 'to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ,' I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, O! then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition;' and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give Him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? and this I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not, but by revelation, as he who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books; and that love let me see myself as I was without him. * * When I myself was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me, how he was tempted by the same devil, and overcame him and bruised his head, and that through him and his power, light, grace, and Spirit, I should overcome also, I had confidence in him; so he it was that opened to me, when I was shut up, and had not hope nor faith. Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in; he gave me hope, which is himself revealed in me, and gave me his Spirit and grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness. Thus, in the deepest miseries, and in the greatest sorrows and temptations, that many times beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. I found

that there were two thirsts in me ; the one after the creatures, to get help and strength there ; and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and his Son Jesus Christ. I saw all the world could do me no good ; if I had had a king's diet, palace, and attendance, all would have been as nothing ; for nothing gave me comfort, but the Lord by his power. I saw professors, priests, and people, were whole and at ease in that condition which was my misery ; and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did stay my desires upon himself, from whom my help came, and my care was cast upon him alone.'—Journal, vol. i. pp. 92, 93.

He was still, for some time, occasionally subject to deep depressions, but the growing clearness of his religious views, aided, it is probable, by an improved state of health, filled him for the most part with unspeakable joy. The struggle he had encountered was amongst his best preparations for the ministry. It induced tenderness and sympathy, gave him an intimate knowledge of the wiles of Satan, and fitted him to administer consolation and warning to the various inquirers by whom he was soon surrounded. His mistrust of human counsel had led him to study the divine record ; and if the confidence with which he communicated his own opinions was deficient in humility, it nevertheless betokened the strength of his conviction, and served to encourage the habit of independent inquiry. He was now in his twenty-third year, and his experience and the unsettled state of the country, concurred in urging him forward in his religious career. He commenced his ministry in the neighbourhood of Manchester, whence he travelled through various parts of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, preaching repentance. His addresses were brief, and without premeditation. His strong emotions found utterance in words, the special attributes of which were appropriateness and force. Discarding the rules of the schools, throwing contempt on mere oratory, despising whatever was artifical, he spoke directly to the hearts of his fellow men, and the result was such as might have been anticipated. 'Numbers were soon convinced by the force of his address and the energy of his manner, and meetings consisting of those who fully united with his religious views, began to be established at different places.' His physical frame appears to have yielded, at this time, to the intensity of his emotions. It is somewhat difficult to determine the precise character of the change he experienced, as his own account is exceedingly brief and guarded. His biographer terms it a trance, but Fox employs no such term, and was probably in doubt concerning it. 'A great work of the Lord,' he says, 'fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead ; and many came to see me for about fourteen days. I was very much altered in countenance

and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed.' We take the fact as thus described, in its simplest and most obvious character. The phenomena are clearly resolvable into physical causes, and what followed entails no necessity for adopting any other hypothesis. An exhausted frame sunk into a state of inanition, during which the spirit betook itself with renovated agility to the devout contemplations which it loved. Such facts indicate the mysterious relations in which man stands to the invisible, and may well rebuke the pride of a false philosophy, which admits of no other community than that which is seen, and earthly. Cases like that of Fox require to be treated with extreme caution. He was on the very verge of insanity. His intense excitement threatened the overthrow of reason, and induced him on some occasions, in the early part of his career, to act in a manner which afforded his enemies a pretext for charging him with madness. He was surrounded by clouds, 'the elements and stars' came over him, he heard living voices, and felt the inspiration of the Almighty prompting his daily service. Much of this is no doubt attributable to the style in which he wrote; but after every reasonable deduction, we are compelled to tremble at the precipice on which he stood. We say not this to disparage the character or labors of Fox. It was a terrible ordeal through which he passed; and in the preservation of his intellect, and the unblemished integrity of his life, we recognise a marvellous token of divine goodness.

The year 1648 witnessed a continuance of his labors, and a further development of those views by which his theology was distinguished. The doctrine of 'the inner light,' and the perfectibility of the renewed nature, became more prominent in his teaching, and certain peculiarities of speech and action were also assumed. 'When the Lord,' he tells us, 'sent me forth into the world, he forbade me to 'put off my hat'; and I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people 'Good Morrow' or 'Good evening'; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one.' We may smile at this, and certainly deem the writer misled in the importance which he attached to such matters: but his sincerity is unquestionable, and we honor the integrity which stood by them when they were deemed the subjects of divine command. It is not our present purpose to discuss the theology of Fox. It may have been right or wrong. In our judgment, it partook of both, and on a fitting occasion we shall be ready to show cause in support of our view. But we have now to do with his biography, and to that we confine ourselves.

Hitherto he had escaped persecution in its grosser forms. It

was not, however, to be expected that he would continue to do so; and it is due to the truth of history to record, that his first experience of it was mainly attributable to himself. It was in the year 1649, that he approached Nottingham on a Sunday morning; and when he came to the top of the hill, whence he espied 'the great steeple-house, the Lord,' he tells us, 'said unto me, 'Thou must go, cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein.' ' To hear, was to obey. Fox did not hesitate on this point, and the scene which followed is thus graphically described by himself:—

' When I came there, all the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest (like a great lump of earth) stood in his pulpit above. He took for his text these words of Peter, ' We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' And he told the people that this was the scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, ' Oh, no, it is not the scriptures:' and I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star. They persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost. As I spoke thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison, the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat, that it very much annoyed me.'—Journal, p. 117.

We are not surprised at this result, and Fox himself probably questioned the propriety of his own procedure, as he never repeated it; thus showing, as Clarkson remarks, 'that he disapproved of his own conduct in having thus interrupted the service; because no punishment or danger ever deterred him from doing, or repeating, whatever he conceived to be his duty.' On his release from confinement at Nottingham, where, he informs us, he 'had been kept prisoner a pretty long time,' he proceeded to Mansfield Woodhouse, and 'was moved,' he says, 'to go to the steeple-house, and declare the truth to the priest and people.' It does not appear that he interrupted the service on this occasion. He only availed himself, it is probable, of the license of his times, which tolerated much greater freedom in such matters than consists with the decorum of modern manners. His address, however, was ill received. 'The people,' he tells

us, 'fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with the hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sat for some hours; and they brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me. * * The rude people stoned me out of the town, for preaching the word of life to them.' Undeterred by such brutal violence, Fox persisted in his labors. Persecuted in one place, he proceeded to another; and wherever he came, the burden of his message was the degeneracy of the church, the hireling spirit of its ministry, and the necessity of an appeal from the literal word to the 'inner light.' He was soon afterwards arrested at Derby, together with one of his disciples; and after a wearisome examination, they were committed to the House of Correction for six months, 'as blasphemers.' His companion soon recanted, and was released; but—

'George Fox would not compromise his principles upon the smallest point, and in consequence remained a prisoner for his full term of six months; after which, he was again consigned to durance for a further term of six months, and, upon this occasion, was shut up with the felons in the common gaol. His pen, however, was busily employed during this time, and he wrote many letters of warning and exhortation, according as his sense of duty moved him to do so, addressing, at different times, judges and magistrates, clergy and people, besides several letters to his own followers.'—*Popular Life*, p. 56.

His patient endurance of these trials, and his active benevolence on behalf of his fellow-prisoners, won on many spectators. Amongst these was the keeper of the jail, 'a high professor,' who had been 'greatly enraged' against him. 'As I was walking in my chamber,' says Fox, 'I heard a doleful noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his wife, 'Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and ale-houses.' The lion was changed into the lamb, and, as at Philippi, the prisoner became the consoler and preacher of good tidings to his keeper. The proceedings of the magistrates were, in this case, manifestly illegal; and being at length apprehensive of the rebuke of their superiors, they discharged Fox without trial, in the beginning of the winter of 1651. The tolerant spirit of Cromwell was at this time in the ascendant; and though it could not change the temper of subordinate officials, it held them in check, and frequently arrested their course of evil-doing. Fox's demeanor

at Lichfield, through which he passed bare-footed, exclaiming, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield,' was characteristic of his worst quality, and may reasonably be admitted to form some extenuation of the violence of his adversaries. Nor can a better excuse be made for his conduct at Beverley, of which he gives the following account :—

' In the afternoon, I went to another steeple-house about three miles off, where preached a great high-priest, called a doctor, one of them whom Justice Hotham would have sent for to speak with me. I went into the steeple-house, and stayed till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these :—' Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters ; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him, ' Come down, thou deceiver ; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them, for preaching the scriptures to them ? Mayest thou not blush for shame ? Did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spoke the words, and gave them forth freely ? Did not Christ say to his ministers, whom he sent to preach, ' Freely ye have received, freely give ? ' ' The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people ; and I directed them from the darkness to the light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and bring them salvation ; to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.'—Journal, vol. i. p. 155.

Although he waited, in this instance, till the service was closed, the incident too much resembles what occurred at Nottingham. Happily, it was never repeated ; and hence, as Mr. Marsh observes, ' we may conclude, that upon this occasion also, his zeal overstepped his own sense of decorum.' George Fox was, in truth, feeling his way. He had yet much to learn ; and as he acted under strong excitement, and in the face of great difficulties, we need not wonder at some of his earlier actions being more than questionable.

His reasoning on some of these occasions—if the term may be applied to what he said—was as inconclusive as his address was uncandid and intemperate. The most provoking charges were preferred, and that, too, in many cases, not on the ground of obvious transgression, but on the score of views differing from those which he entertained. The spirits of men were not unfrequently judged by a false standard, and the sentence pronounced was, in consequence, indicative of any other quality rather than of enlightened zeal. The case at Beverley was an instance, and no candid member of the Society of Friends will now approve what was said there. The freedom of the

gospel is wholly apart from the point on which Fox made it to turn, and may be maintained, as it actually is, with equal zeal and earnestness by the advocates of opposite views. Thousands of the most excellent of the earth have maintained the right of those who labor in spiritual things to receive the temporal gifts of their people, without impugning in the slightest degree the distinctive character of the Christian dispensation. We are glad to find Mr. Marsh dissenting from the censorious judgment and false reasoning of the subject of his biography on this point, and trust the time is past for such views to be prevalent amongst us. Let the question itself be fairly debated, but let us cautiously guard against using ill-names, or impugning the motives of brethren from whom we differ. The example of Fox was in this respect unhappily infectious. The master was closely followed by his disciples, many of whom exceeded his uncharitableness and asperity. This was to be expected. It was accordant with a universal law, and should have made him specially cautious. It was the feature of his public life in which he was most open to imitation. Many could emulate his zeal here, who never practised the genuine virtues which he evinced. Hence they were in perpetual collision with some of the best men of their day, whom they heedlessly confounded with the worst. ‘Their principal zeal,’ says Baxter, whose account must be received with considerable reservation, ‘lieth in railing at the ministers as hirelings, deceivers, false prophets,’ &c. After every deduction, however, we are compelled to admire and venerate their virtues. They rendered noble service to truth; and had their fortitude been imitated by others, the freedom of the church of Christ from secular control would not now remain to be achieved. Mr. Orme renders them only simple justice when he remarks, ‘The heroic and persevering conduct of the Quakers in withholding the interference of government with the rights of conscience, by which they finally secured those peculiar privileges they so richly deserve to enjoy, entitles them to the veneration of all the friends of civil and religious freedom; and more than compensates for those irregularities and extravagancies which marked the early period of their history.’*

We cannot dwell continuously on the subsequent incidents of his career. They are too numerous even to be specified within our limits, and we must, therefore, be content to allude to the more prominent. He journeyed from place to place with indefatigable zeal, formed societies in every part of the kingdom, watched with pastoral solicitude over the people whom he gathered, and was prompt in guarding them from all approaching

* *Life of Baxter*, p. 91.

dangers, and in preparing them, by his epistolary counsels, for every change which he anticipated. His personal sufferings were borne with marvellous patience, and they followed him wherever he went. As an illustration, we may specify his treatment in Launceston jail, to which he was committed at the close of 1655. The assizes not being held till the beginning of the following year, he was detained nine weeks in prison 'at a considerable charge,' prior to his arraignment before Chief Justice Glynne, and even then he failed to obtain his freedom. Though the accusations against him and his brethren were proved to be untenable, a fine of twenty marks was imposed on each for not taking off their hats in court, and in default of payment they were ordered back to prison.

' The assizes being now ended, and the prisoners refusing upon principle to pay a fine they considered most illegal, since nothing had been proved against them to justify their apprehension, much less their imprisonment; and judging from the malice of their enemies, that they were not likely to be liberated very soon, demanded a free prison; and told the jailer, they should discontinue to pay him for the hire of his room, for which they had hitherto given him seven shillings a week each person, as well as seven shillings a week for each of their horses. Upon this notification, the jailer, who was an abandoned character, and had been twice branded with a hot iron as a thief, (as well as his wife and the under-jailer), shut them up in a foul dungeon, called Doomsdale, which was noisome and pestilential, on account of its being the common sewer of the prison, the floor of which was so thick in mire, that it was over their shoes, and afforded no place where they could either sit or lie down. In this dreadful place, they were denied by their exasperated keeper even a little straw, or a light; but some kindly disposed people of the town, hearing of their sad condition, brought them both a light and a few handfuls of straw, which they burnt to purify the air. The smoke arising upon this occasion penetrated through the chinks of the floor above, and found its way into the chamber occupied by the under-jailer and some thieves, who immediately began to revenge themselves, by pouring down upon them, through the chinks, whatever they could obtain to annoy them, and make their condition still more deplorable, at the same time abusing them with the foulest language. In this place they were sometimes left in want both of food and water, owing to the brutality of the jailer and his wife, who often abused and beat those who brought them a few necessaries and comforts. The whole particulars of the infamous treatment to which they were subjected, from the misconduct of their unfeeling keepers, are too offensive for recital, and, when such abuses no longer exist in our public jails, are best left untold. * * *

' In this pestilential dungeon, they were retained till the next quarter sessions at Bodmin, when, by sending a remonstrance against the

conduct of the jailer, and stating their hard fate to the magistrates, an order was issued granting them liberty to cleanse out the place and to purchase whatever necessaries they wanted. Their peaceable conduct soon afterwards obtained for them a better apartment, and also the liberty of walking in the castle green.'—Popular Life, pp. 131—133.

The hardship of their case at length attracted general commiseration, and Cromwell ordered the governor of Pendennis Castle to inquire into the affair, and to punish such as had exceeded their authority. Shortly afterwards, General Desborough was directed to liberate Fox and his friends; but as they refused to pay the fine which had been imposed, or to pledge themselves to discontinue preaching, they remained in confinement till the 13th of July, 1656, when they were 'freely set at liberty' by Colonel Bennet.

The course of his ministry brought Fox at length into personal contact with Cromwell, and it is interesting to mark how the Protector conducted himself on these occasions. His first interview with the General of the Commonwealth was in 1654, on occasion of his arrest by Colonel Hacker. The nation, it must be borne in mind, was at this time full of plots against Cromwell, and we must not therefore be surprised that the meetings of the Quakers were regarded with suspicion. The royalists were active in fomenting discontent, and felt no scruple to work by every agency which offered itself to their hands. The peaceful tenets of the body are now known, but it was not so in the times of which we write. The authorities might, therefore, naturally regard with apprehension what we know to be harmless, and would in consequence deem it their duty to institute inquiries which the experience of two centuries has shown to have been needless. Let us not, therefore, do injustice even in vindication of the liberty of Fox, nor pronounce judgment on the events which befel him by rules applicable only to our own day. He was arrested without violence, and on being taken before Colonel Hacker, he tells us, 'a great deal of discourse we had about the priests, and about meetings, *for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Oliver Cromwell.* He was offered liberty on condition of not frequenting 'meetings,' but this concession he nobly refused, and was in consequence referred to the personal examination of the Protector. His treatment on the journey to London was respectful and considerate, and when his arrival was reported, Cromwell simply required, Fox tells us, 'that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government as it then was, and that I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it.' Against such a requisition there could be no valid

objection. It was characteristic of the nobility of the Protector, and was in keeping with the whole course of his generous policy. Cromwell fought not with sects. He sought to maintain, as in duty bound, the new government of England, but cheerfully extended to all its subjects the liberty of religious worship. He did this even to episcopalians, whatever may be alledged to the contrary, and was not likely, therefore, to withhold it from Fox. The latter wrote the required declaration and was soon afterwards conducted to Whitehall. It was in the morning before the Protector had dressed, and on entering his chamber, Fox was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house.' 'I spoke much to him,' says the journalist, 'of truth, and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion, wherein he carried himself very moderately.' In the conversation which ensued, Cromwell stated his objections to the procedure of Fox, who defended his course with firmness, but with an asperity which frequently led him to misrepresent the views of others. The entrance of other parties broke off the conversation, and, on Fox's retiring, Cromwell took him by the hand, and with tears said, 'Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other.' Fox was immediately informed he was at liberty, and might go whither he would. 'Then I was brought,' he says, 'into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and I asked them, what they brought me hither for? They said it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this he said, 'Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can.'

This interview was honorable to both parties, but the palm belongs, in our judgment, to Cromwell. The history of England furnishes no parallel to it, and we are greatly surprised at the statement of Mr. Marsh, that it 'divulges the crafty policy of Cromwell.' Truly we need not wonder at the atrocious libels of Clarendon, Heylin, and Hume, when such prejudice is displayed by a member of the Society of Friends. The insensibility to evidence which the assertion indicates, affords melancholy proof of the rancor with which the memory of Cromwell has been aspersed. Should Mr. Marsh's volume reach a second edition, we earnestly counsel him to expunge this passage, as far more discreditable to himself than it can now prove injurious to the Protector. These extraordinary men subsequently met only twice; once in 1656, and again in 1658. On the former of these occasions Fox was entering London with

Edward Pyot, a fellow-laborer, and on approaching Hyde Park, he saw a great concourse of people, and 'espied the Protector coming in his coach.' Some of the soldiers attempted to prevent his approaching the carriage, but Cromwell forbade them, and so says Fox, 'I rode by his coach-side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say unto him of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation.' He listened to the communication attentively, and desired Fox to come to his house. This he did on the following day, and the interview which occurred did not leave a pleasing impression on the quaker. We are not surprised at this, though we do not draw from the fact an inference unfavorable to Cromwell. His visitor assumed much, and spoke with an air of authority. His address was that of an ancient prophet, delivering a message from heaven, rather than the respectful communication of a liege subject. 'I was standing by the table,' says Fox, 'and he came and sat upon the table's side by me, and said he would be as high as I was, and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went away in a light manner,'—'in fact,' as Mr. Carlyle quaintly, and with some injustice, paraphrases the passage, 'rather quizzed me; finding my enormous self-confidence none of the least of my attainments.'

The other meeting to which we have referred was just prior to the death of Cromwell, and Fox's account of it was written after that event. This circumstance must be borne in mind, and will go far to account for a part of the narrative. It took place in Hampton Court Park, where the Protector was at the time, riding at the head of his Life Guards. 'Before I came to him,' says Fox, 'I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house.' The health of Cromwell had for some time been rapidly declining. The strong man was bowed down by the weight that was upon him. He had borne up amidst the struggle with Herculean fortitude, but his muscular frame was now failing, and his spirit was hastening to repose. There had been no rest for him on earth, and a merciful angel, in the form of premature old age, was about to conduct him into a peaceful region, where he would escape the malice of foes and the ingratitude of a people whom he had saved from slavery. Fox called at the palace on the following day, but the Protector's medical attendants prohibited his entering the chamber of death. This was, probably, the 21st of August, and on the 3rd of September the great man died, misunderstood by his contemporaries, long reviled by hire-

ling and party scribblers, but at length nobly vindicated, in the judgment of all impartial men, by the research and high-minded advocacy of a living author. Honor be to Thomas Carlyle for the service he has rendered, in redeeming from reproach, the memory of our most illustrious ruler! England has had many kings, but Cromwell stands alone;—as superior in his worth, as he was more profound in political sagacity, and more earnest in his sympathies with English freedom.

A dark change now impended over the nation; but, before we proceed to notice the career of Fox under the Restoration, we must briefly advert to the treatment received by the Quakers from the ruling religionists of the Commonwealth and of the Protectorate. We have already alluded to the extenuating circumstances which may be pleaded, and shall not therefore be accused of indiscriminate judgment when we own, that the conduct pursued towards the members of this sect, forms one of the darkest and most criminal features of the period. The principles of the presbyterian party were notoriously hostile to religious freedom. They denounced it in no measured terms as ‘the Diana of the Independents,’ and never lost an opportunity of enforcing their Covenant by civil penalties. An age ‘of sects and schisms’ was their special abhorrence. Untaught by their own sufferings, they sought to re-enact the tyranny of the bishops, and were only prevented from doing so by the unconstitutional procedure of Cromwell and the army. The latter saw the danger, and, intent on the substance rather than the shadow, they violated the letter in order to preserve the spirit of freedom. The influence of the Presbyterians, throughout the kingdom, was considerable; and it was uniformly employed, and that, too, with special violence, against the Quakers. But other religionists were not clear in the matter, and their inconsistency was the more glaring. The independents,—comprising under this term both sections of the congregational body,—were frequently implicated in the persecution of the Quakers; not, indeed, uniformly, or as a whole, but in the persons of some of their leading members. Dr. Owen failed on this point, notwithstanding the defence set up by Mr. Orme. We have attentively considered the account of Sewell, to which he refers, and are compelled reluctantly to admit, that he was a consenting party to the barbarous punishment inflicted on Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher; the latter of whom shortly afterwards died, from the brutal treatment received from the scholars of St. John’s, and the vice-chancellor and justices of Oxford. The case of Owen, though an extreme one, was illustrative of a large class, and we know no good reason why it should not be held up to reprobation. His spirit was too

prevalent ; and the fact yields melancholy evidence, of the danger of entrusting any class of religious teachers with the infliction of civil penalties. So far we admit the culpability of the parties in question, but Mr. Marsh goes much further, and in doing so, is guilty of an offence analogous to that with which he charges the independents and baptists. He is much too sweeping in his censures ; he hastily generalizes where he ought to discriminate ; and is blind to the extenuating circumstances which candor admits. A few specimens in support of this allegation will suffice. ‘The word *faction*,’ he says, p. 44, ‘with the sole exception of the Quakers, is applicable to all the religious denominations of that period, who, while rejecting the erroneous doctrines of papacy, still retained enough of its persecuting spirit to render them all equally intolerant of the different opinions of one another ; and the events upon record teach us, that each separate church, had it possessed the power, would have persecuted to the death all opposing tenets as heresies.’ Again, page 55, he tells us, ‘The grand object both of presbyterians and independents, in seeking the overthrow of the established church, was not to secure a toleration for themselves and others, but by a seizure of her power and temporalities, to establish their own supremacy and the infallibility of their own creeds.’ With equal discrimination, he subsequently informs us, page 92, that the preachers of the baptists, presbyterians, and independents ‘were more hostile and more rancorous towards all opposing tenets, than the clergy of the national church had ever been. The two most powerful sects,’ he adds, ‘the presbyterians and independents had already begun to partake of the good things belonging to the establishment, and naturally felt their appetites whetted for more ; each party was extremely tenacious of securing for itself as much of its powers and emoluments as it could obtain, and was as jealous of all new doctrines as it was fierce and hot in the persecution of their supporters.’

Such passages may safely be left to the judgment of the reader. Those who are acquainted with the times to which they relate, will know how to estimate their worth. We adduce them as discreditable specimens of a want of discrimination and candor, on the part of the author, and as utterly beneath the dignity of history. The time is happily past, for such sweeping and precipitate generalizations to have much effect. They only injure the reputation they are intended to serve. The memory of George Fox needs not such aid ; and his biographer will do well to erase the passages in question from his book.

The death of Cromwell had revived the hopes of the royalists, and it was soon apparent that his son Richard was incapable of mastering the difficulties of his position. The nation was rent

into factions, which contended against each other with an animosity of which it is now difficult to form an adequate conception. The advent of what Mr. Carlyle designates 'the Nell Gwynne' dynasty, was at hand, and bad men triumphed and good men wept at the prospect. A dissolute prince, with a host of needy and profligate followers, was about to seize the helm, and the patriotism and liberties of England were for a time to be surrendered to arbitrary statesmen and vindictive ecclesiastics. It was a dark and disgraceful period, from the gloom of which scarcely any other nation would have emerged. Fox saw the gathering storm, and, true to his principles, warned his disciples against taking part with either of the disputants. In this we think he erred, and are glad to believe that the society he founded has advanced on his views in this matter. There was much, however, in the policy of the contending parties to dispose him to neutrality, while his peace-principles absolutely prohibited his taking part in the threatened struggle. Apprehensive 'lest any young or raw people,' belonging to his community, should be tempted to take part with one or other of the contending factions, he issued epistles through the press, warning them to be on their guard, and urgently enforcing an adherence to their profession. 'Ye are called to peace,' said he, 'therefore follow it; and that peace is in Christ, —not in Adam, in the fall. All that pretend to fight for Christ, are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. * * * All friends everywhere—This I charge you, which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, 'Live in peace—in Christ, the way of peace,' and therein seek the peace of all men, and no man's hurt.'

The first year of the Restoration saw Fox a prisoner in Lancaster jail, whence he issued addresses to various parties, amongst which was the following letter to the king, the simplicity and faithfulness of which have had few parallels:—

'KING CHARLES.—Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now, if thou live not in it, thou wilt not prosper. If the Lord hath showed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgiveness, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou stop not persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution about religion; if thou persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that have gone before thee; for persecution hath always blinded those that have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-games, with such-like abominations and vanities, be encouraged or go unpunished,

as setting up may-poles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, etc., the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord until he overthrew them ; and so he will you, if these things be not suppressed. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before, as there is at this day, as though there was no terror nor sword of magistracy ; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace, and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. Hear, and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power ; be merciful, and forgive : this is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.'—Journal, vol. i. pp. 524, 525.

Margaret Fell, the widow of Judge Fell, made earnest application to the king on his behalf, and Charles, who was heartless rather than cruel, ordered a writ of habeas-corpus to be issued for his removal to London. What occurred on the receipt of this writ is painfully illustrative of the insecurity of liberty and life, at this boasted period, and of the full conviction which obtained of Fox's integrity. His persecutors were indisposed to incur the expense of his removal to London, and therefore accepted his promise to present himself before the authorities on a specified day, and to carry up the charge against himself.

'Thus,' says Mr. Marsh, 'he left Lancaster Castle without the payment of a single fee, travelled at his leisure, visited his friends, and held many great meetings on his journey ; committing over and over again the very offences for which he had been imprisoned, and in which offences his persecutors now silently acquiesced, since by liberating him upon his bare word to surrender himself, they consented to that which they well knew would be his only line of conduct.

'Upon his arrival in London, he found a great concourse of people assembled at Charing Cross, to witness the burning of the bowels of the late king's judges, who had been hanged, drawn, and quartered. The next day, he went before the Lord Chief Justice Foster, and Judge Mallett, and presenting them his own accusation, they read it through till they came to the words, 'that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood,' etc., upon which they struck their hands upon the table. G. Fox told them, 'I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent of any such thing as a new-born child, and had brought it up myself ; and some of my friends came up with me, without any guard.' They then observed that he stood with his hat on, and said to him, 'What, do you stand with your hat on ?' He replied, 'that he did not stand so in any contempt of them.' In consequence of the King's Bench prison being full, Judge Foster asked him, 'Will you appear to-morrow about ten

o'clock at the King's Bench bar in Westminster Hall ?' He said, ' Yes ; if the Lord give me strength.' Then Judge Foster remarked to the other judge, ' If he says yes, and promises it, you may take his word ;' and then he was dismissed. The next morning, he says, ' I was brought into the middle of the court ; and as soon as I came in, I was moved to look about, and, turning to the people, said, ' Peace be among you ;' and the power of the Lord sprung over the court. The charge against me was then read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving, and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part which said, ' that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war ; that I was an enemy to the king,' etc., they lifted up their hands. Then stretching out my arms, I said, ' I am the man whom that charge is against ; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures. And, do ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself ? or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me ? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse.' Then the judge asked me, whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it ? I answered, ' Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter ; therefore, do ye what ye will with it ; I leave it to you.' Then stood up Esquire Marsh, who was of the king's bed-chamber, and told the judges, ' It was the king's pleasure, that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me.' They then asked me, ' Whether I would put it to the king and council ?' I said, ' Yes, with a good will.' The writ of habeas-corpus and the mittimus were thereupon sent to the king.'—Popular Life, pp. 185—187.

Fox was immediately released on the warrant of the king, and a further order was issued for the liberation of about seven hundred Quakers, who had been imprisoned during the Commonwealth. This was a noble beginning of an ignoble reign, and had it consisted with other parts of the policy of the new government, and been sustained by its subsequent procedure, it would deservedly have placed the Restoration in a vastly different category from that in which it is found. We are not disposed heedlessly to diminish the little glory which belongs to Charles. As an English sovereign he is entitled to small credit even at the best, and we would, therefore, in sheer pity, leave him the honor of having been influenced on this occasion by virtuous motives, did we believe such to have operated. But his whole history is against the supposition, nor is it difficult to resolve his conduct into other, and less creditable influences. In releasing the Quakers, he acted on behalf of the victims of the Commonwealth, and thus threw reproach on his enemies for refusing to

others the freedom they claimed for themselves. The episcopalian and the quaker regarded the 'Covenant' and the 'Directory' as common foes. They had suffered from the supporters of these platforms of church polity, and the restored leader of the former might, therefore, be inclined, on the lowest principles of party fellowship, to exercise generosity on behalf of the latter. Episcopacy and Quakerism had not yet been brought into collision. It was even now, indeed, imminent, but, as yet, there had been no actual contest. It is due, however, to Charles, to say, that had he been left to himself, and had the labors of religionists failed to interfere with his selfishness and lusts, he would probably have abstained from persecution. Had he done so, however, it would have been from an indifference to all religious opinions, and not from any due sense of the rights of conscience.

The mad plottings of the Fifth Monarchy men soon disclosed the insecurity of the Quakers. Clarendon and the bishops were not sorry to have such an excuse for their arbitrary proceedings, as this outbreak furnished. It removed the obstacles which lay in their way, and handed over the sectaries to their mercy. The prisons were, in consequence, immediately filled. 'We heard,' says Fox, 'of several thousands of our Friends, that were cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more. * * They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it, that we had an account, notwithstanding all their stoppings.' This persecution, it must be remembered, occurred after the nation had had many years experience of the peaceful spirit of the Quakers; and it arose from a party against whose entrance into power they had stedfastly refused to exert themselves. Whatever may be said on behalf of the Commonwealth on the ground of the principles of Fox and of his associates being untried, was inadmissible under the Restoration. Their tenets were known, their sufferings were on record. Their enemies themselves being judges, they were incapable of violence or treason. Fox, however, was undaunted. At all hazards he persisted in his course, and his solicitude was expressed in numerous addresses to his followers, exhorting them to stedfastness and watchfulness in their profession.

The Quakers were at this time suffering grievously in New England, where the puritan refugees, untaught by their own persecutions, enacted the same fearful drama which Laud had acted in England. Fox wrote and pleaded in their cause, and on occasion of a deputation arriving in London

to congratulate the king on his restoration, he sought an interview with its members, and personally appealed to their justice on behalf of his brethren. The state of Connecticut was honorably distinguished in this matter from that of Massachusetts, and the governor, who was at this time in England, assured Fox 'that he had no hand in putting the friends to death, or, in any way, persecuting them ; but was one of them who protested against it.' The history of Massachusetts confirms our repugnance to the mixing up of things secular and sacred. It is in vain to deny the severity of the persecution that was practised. It was atrocious in the extreme, and under the circumstances, was more criminal than that which had been practised in England. It is unwise in our modern advocates to attempt to palliate it. Better admit its turpitude, and mark it with reprobation, while we trace it to its source, and guard against its recurrence. The first colonists of New England were English Brownists, who emigrated from Holland as a church. They committed a capital error by applying the rules of their religious discipline to their civil polity, and this error was greatly aggravated when they were subsequently joined by numerous presbyterian emigrants, whose ecclesiastical views were blended with those of the earlier settlers. Hence resulted a species of presbyterianism, for the procedure of which independency is not fairly responsible. A mongrel system prevailed, under which church power employed the civil magistrate to punish such as challenged its dicta. We care not by whom, or under what pretence, the wrong was perpetrated. We have no more confidence in protestants than in papists, in dissenters than in churchmen. Our security is in refusing to all sects the aid of the magistrate in enforcing their shibboleth. The independent ministers in London, with Dr. Owen at their head, remonstrated with the New Englanders, intreating them 'to trust God with his truth and ways, so far as to suspend all rigorous proceedings in corporal restraints or punishments on persons that dissent.'* The interference was honorable, and if not wholly consistent with the policy of Owen, when vice-chancellor of Oxford, it only affords another proof of the tendency of power to mislead even the best of men.

In addition to these labours, Fox also engaged in public discussion with some Jesuits, and his nervous English, and practical good sense, speedily disposed of their fallacies. 'They were soon weary,' he tells us, and we have no difficulty in believing the assertion, 'of this discourse, and went their way ; and gave a charge, as we heard, to the papists, 'that they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books.'

* Orme's Owen, p. 258.

The sufferings of the Quakers continued, with occasional intermissions, throughout this reign. We have already seen that large numbers were thrown into prison during the first year of the Restoration, and an address to the king, drawn up by Fox, and Richard Hubberthorn, in 1662, gives the following melancholy view of the sufferings of the body.

'There died in prison, in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the Protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw, and in dungeons, 'thirty-two persons.' There have also been imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, 'three thousand, sixty, and eight persons.' Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times, and our Friends are thrown into waters and trod upon, till the very blood gusheth out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the name of the Commonwealth, and of the two Protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience' sake, who have not listed up a hand against thee or any man; and that the meetings of our Friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God, to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people, with their clubs, and swords, and staves. One of the greatest things we have suffered for, formerly, was, because we could not swear to the Protectors, and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon earth, let us suffer as much for breaking that as others do for breaking an oath.'—Popular Life, p. 206.

These sufferings were inflicted in direct contravention of the king's declaration from Breda, and in violation of the promise subsequently made to the Quakers. The character of Charles afforded, in truth, no guarantee. His word was as false as his father's, and his heart was yet more corrupt. Devoted to vicious pleasure, he cared little for the wrongs perpetrated in his courts, or for the sorrow, sickness, and death, which his prisons witnessed. Too indolent to exert himself on behalf of the oppressed, and too immoral to sympathise with the virtuous, he lent the weight of his authority to a series of criminal enactments, which were designed to extinguish the light and purity of religious truth.

Fox personally shared the sufferings which befel his brethren. In 1664, we find him in Lancaster jail, from January to June. The assizes were held in the latter month, when he hoped to obtain his liberty. But his persecutors were implacable; and though they failed to substantiate any criminal charge, he was

remanded to prison, where he continued throughout the winter.

‘Colonel Kirby,’ he says, ‘gave order to the jailer, ‘to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me, for I was not fit,’ he said, ‘to be discoursed with by men.’ Then I was put into a tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, that it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors, for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides, it rained in upon my bed; and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt was as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me, while I was labouring to stop it out. And the place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it the wind blew it out again. In this manner did I lie, all that long cold winter, till the next assize; in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly swelled, and my limbs much benumbed.’—Journal, vol. ii. p. 63.

During this mournful period, he was not inactive. His enemies could not imprison his spirit, nor depress his energy. Excluded from one department of service, he vigorously pursued another. The pen was substituted for the voice, and his exhortations, rebukes, and warnings, were scattered throughout the kingdom. After a rigorous confinement of fifteen months, he was removed to Scarborough Castle, when he was retained a prisoner more than a year, and was then released by the efforts of his old friend, Mr. Marsh, a member of the royal household. The order for his liberation is dated September 1st, 1666. Fox instantly recommenced his more active labors, travelling through Yorkshire, and having, as he says, ‘many large and precious meetings among the people. But I was so weak,’ he adds, ‘from lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonment, and my joints and body were so benumbed, that I could hardly get on my horse, or bend my joints, nor could I well bear to be near a fire, nor to eat warm meat, I had been so long kept from them.’

The great fire of London broke out the day after Fox’s release from Scarborough Castle, and on reaching the city he walked amongst the ruins, ‘and took good notice of them.’ This terrible calamity, with that which preceded it, stayed, for a moment, the spirit of persecution. It was, however, only for a moment. The respite was sweet, though brief; but Clarendon and Sheldon were too intent on establishing the domination of the hierarchy, to permit extended repose to any body of dissenters. The Quakers, by their firmness and patriotic endurance, were espe-

cially obnoxious to Sheldon and his brethren. They acted openly, and without reserve. There was no equivocation in their proceedings ; no attempt to escape the observation of their enemies ; no resort to policy in order to veil their religious exercises under a secular guise. In open day, and in places of public resort, they met for worship, and, as if to prevent the possibility of concealment, their apparel and their speech proclaimed their faith. This noble spirit pervaded the entire body, and Fox was an illustrious instance of it. There was much need of his courage just now, for every thing looked frowning and dark. The Conventicle Act of 1664 having expired, was revived in April, 1670, with severer clauses than it originally contained. No matter whether Clarendon or his enemies were in the ascendant, in either case nonconformists were marked out for persecution, and the Quakers were made to drink its very dregs. Informers were liberally rewarded, and the whole machinery of the church was vigorously worked for their destruction. The intolerance and bigotry of Sheldon emulated the zeal of Hildebrand, and would have rekindled the fires of Smithfield, had the temper of his age permitted. Immediately after the passing of this Act, he issued a circular letter to the bishops of his province, exhorting them to see to its rigorous execution, the close of which reminds us of the worst acts of popish persecutors. 'And then, my lord,' says the primate of the English church, 'what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty ; yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the Act contains for our advantage, we shall, in a few months, see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as that the seduced people returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers, to the unity of the church and uniformity of God's worship, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom.' We sicken at such language, and turn from it with indignant contempt. The man who used it wanted only the power to employ the rack, the gibbet, and the stake. He was born out of time, and belonged to a class whose names are now mentioned with loathing and scorn. It was well that the persecutor was met by such men as Fox. His resolution was inflexible, his spirit undaunted. He smiled contemptuously on the threats and power of the archbishop, and predicted, with a confidence which never flagged, the hopelessness of the enterprise on which he had embarked. While he rebuked his sin, he scornfully derided the folly of his labors. We might easily fill our journal with instances of the heroic conduct of

Fox, but must restrict ourselves to one or two. Speaking of the first Sunday after the Act of 1670 came into force, he says, 'I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage out of Lombard-street, where, also, I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a friend was speaking amongst them, but spoke not long. When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me; it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee.' Then I showed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in his members now, where he is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them.' He was carried immediately before the Lord Mayor, and being discharged, was asked by some of his friends whither he would go, when he replied, with characteristic decision, 'To Gracechurch-street meeting.' It was plain that there were no means of silencing such a man, short of death. He had learnt the secret of moral power, and strong in the consciousness of its possession, set his enemies at defiance. He was always at the post of danger, 'being frequent,' as he says of the year 1682, 'at the most public meetings, to encourage friends, both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had sealed them.' It was in the same year that, 'hearing there would be a bustle at the meeting,' he went with the celebrated William Penn to Gracechurch-street, on the first day of the week, and what passed is highly instructive. The constables and the soldiers were but the tools of ecclesiastics, and on this, as on other occasions, performed their part with evident reluctance. Fox's account is as follows:—

' William Penn went with me, and spoke in the meeting; and while he was declaring the truth to the people, a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over, and come down; but William Penn held on, declaring truth in the power of God. After a while the constable drew back, and when William Penn had done I stood up, and declared to the people 'the everlasting gospel, which was preached in the apostles' days, and to Abraham; and which the church in the apostles' days did receive, and came to be heirs of. This gospel, I declared, was sent from heaven by the Holy Ghost in the apostles' days, and is so now; and was not of man, neither by man; but by the revelation of the Holy Ghost. * * * As I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great staves, and bid me give over speaking, and come down; but I, feeling the power of the Lord with me, spoke on therein, both to the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared, 'that we were a peace-

able people, who met to wait upon God, and worship him in spirit and in truth ; and therefore they needed not to come with their staves amongst us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people.' Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them ; and while I was speaking, the constables drew out towards the door ; and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard. When I had done speaking, I kneeled down and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, both high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his Holy Spirit ; that he might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting rose, and Friends passed away ; the constables being come in again, but without the soldiers ; and, indeed, both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us ; and lest the constables should think we would shun them, a Friend went down and told them, that if they would have anything with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased. One of them came to us soon after, but without his staff ; which he chose to do, that he might not be observed ; for, he said, the people told him he busied himself more than he needed.'—Journal, pp. 314—316.

Similar instances occurred in other places. Their meeting-houses were closed by the authorities in order to prevent the necessity of a fine being imposed, and officers were stationed near them to prohibit the entrance of the Quakers. On such occasions, however, they proceeded with their devotions in the open street, and their earnestness and simplicity of purpose frequently won upon those who were sent to watch them.

'One first day,' says Fox, 'it was upon me to go to Devonshire-house meeting in the afternoon ; and because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning (as they were that day at most meetings about the city), I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages ; but the constables were got there before me, and stood in the door-way with their staves. I asked them to let me go in ; they said, 'they could not, nor durst not ; for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it.' I told them I would not press upon them ; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on ; and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbade him, and said he should not speak ; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone ; the constable did so, and was quiet ; and the man did not speak long. After he had done, I was moved to stand up and speak ; and in my declaration, I said, 'they need not come against us with swords and staves, for we were a peaceable people, and had nothing in our hearts

but good-will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. We did not meet, under pretence of religion, to plot and contrive against the government, or to raise insurrections ; but to worship God in spirit and in truth. We had Christ to be our bishop, priest, and shepherd to feed us, and oversee us, and he ruled in our hearts ; so we could all sit in silence, enjoying our teacher ; so to Christ, their bishop and shepherd, I recommended them all.' I then sat down ; and after a while I was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all ; and the people, the constables, and soldiers, put off their hats. When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us ; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.'—Journal, pp. 325, 326.

Another brief record, and we must pass from this portion of the narrative. We give it in Fox's own words :—

' Having visited and encouraged Friends there, I returned to London, and went to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where the constables with their watchmen kept a guard, to keep Friends out of the house. So we met in the street ; and when any Friend spoke, the officers and watchmen made a great bustle to pull him down, and take him into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak ; and I said, ' Heaven is God's throne, and earth is his footstool ; and will ye not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship and serve the living God ? ' While I spoke they were quiet ; and after I had cleared myself, we broke up our meeting in peace.'—Journal, p. 327.

The death of Charles II., which occurred in February 1685, effected a material revolution in favor of the Quakers. The policy of his successor is now understood, and duly appreciated ; but, at the moment, it could not fail to awaken feelings of exultation and thankfulness. One thousand four hundred and sixty Quakers were at this time in prison, besides a vast number of other dissenters : and a proclamation was issued by the king ordering the release of all who had been committed for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The sinister design of this proclamation was soon apparent, but its first effect was to gladden the hearts of thousands by the release of those who had suffered cruel bondage. ' Many of those,' says Fox, ' who had been restrained in bonds for years, came up to this yearly meeting, and caused great joy to Friends to see our ancient faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long imprisonment.' What speedily followed is well known to every reader of English liberty. In his crusade against civil liberty, James received the earnest and officious aid of the protestant church of England, but when, at length, he put forth his hand against its temporalities, by appointing catholics to some of its offices, a cry of sacrilege was raised, and the long

abused name of liberty was invoked against the popish despot. But enough of this. We shall speedily take occasion to examine the pretensions put forth on behalf of the seven bishops, as champions of the freedom of their country.

We have purposely abstained—our limits being brief—from adverting to Fox's visits to the West Indies, America, and Holland, as also to his marriage with Margaret Fell. Each of these occurrences was characteristic of the man, and the last affords an amusing illustration of the simplicity of his mind, and of its entire devotement to his great vocation. He survived the Revolution, and died on the 13th of November, 1690. Of his character we have already spoken. It was marked by great qualities, some of which were for a season partially obscured. The men of his own day did not rightly appreciate him, but the mists are now clearing away. We see his virtues and his faults, his might and his weakness; and while we venerate the one, we remember our own humanity, and are silent respecting the other. In person, George Fox was somewhat corpulent, and above the middle stature. His countenance is said to have been placid, and his eye was intelligent and piercing. We need scarcely say that his habits were exceedingly active. 'He was a small sleeper, an early riser, and carefully abstemious in his diet.'

Of his 'Journal,' we need not speak to those who know it. It is a full-length portraiture, and is accurately described by Sir James Mackintosh as 'one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world,—which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer.'

Mr. Marsh's volume has not answered our expectations. Its title is a misnomer. Whatever it be, it certainly is not 'A *Popular Life*.' It is a dull book, which few will read through, and from which fewer still will derive the instruction which might have been conveyed. Of the writer we know nothing. Judging from the style of his volume, we conclude it to be his first essay at authorship, and would advise severe and repeated revision, ere he ventures again before the public. There are other faults than style, on which, however, we are not disposed to dwell, as the author appears to be an estimable man, and to have sought throughout his work a worthy object. His choice of a subject is unhappy for his fame. George Fox requires a biographer of a higher cast of intellect, one more profoundly versed in the mysteries of our nature, and better prepared to give impartial judgment on the various and apparently conflicting types of the religious character. The preparation of such a work, by a man so endowed, would augur well for the coming age, and we know no theme to which his powers might more appropriately or more usefully be directed.

ART. II.—*An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. D. Morell, A.M. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Johnstone. 1847.

HISTORY is confessedly one of the most difficult departments of literary composition. The history of opinions furnishes a more difficult task, and more severely tests the abilities of the historian, than that of events. And the history of philosophic opinions, especially, seems to call for more rare and varied qualifications, in order to its successful treatment, than any other kind. To be thoroughly competent to such a task, the historian must unite an extensive and well-arranged erudition with a keen and sound judgment, and some good measure of aptitude for original speculation and self-analysis. He should be familiar with the most profound and subtil speculations of the most profound and subtil intellects; and not merely of the period which he proposes to treat, but of preceding ages, that he may be able to recognise the features of antiquity under the plausible disguise of novelty. He must have made their thoughts his own by meditation, and yet be able to reproduce them without any mixture of his own, for the information of his readers. With a supreme love of truth, he should combine a tolerant and catholic temper; otherwise he will be either an unsafe guide or an unfair judge. Endowed with a faculty of abstract thinking that can firmly grasp the most attenuated generalization, and keep it steadily in view, he needs also a degree of what may be styled dramatic imagination, by means of which he may transport himself, as it were, into the interior of other men's minds, comprehend their feelings (or their inseusibility), and look at things with their eyes; for without this, he will be in danger of distorting their doctrines, and will be prepared neither to appreciate their merits nor to understand their mistakes. Lastly, to this rare combination of gifts must be added, the faculty of perspicuous, condensed, and exact expression; failing which, the historian may possess much knowledge, but will impart little.

It was, therefore, a somewhat bold undertaking, in a work which (as the preface to the first edition informed us) was 'not the production of an experienced writer,' but contained 'the first thoughts which the author' had 'yet ventured to intrude upon public notice,' to furnish an account of the progress and development of philosophy in Europe from the age of Bacon and Descartes to our own; and especially to bring to the touchstone of critical examination all the leading systems of the nineteenth century, from the so-called profound analyses of Dr. Thomas

Brown, and yet more marvellous analyses of Mr. James Mill, to the gigantic cloud-castles and logic-built universes of the German idealists, and the eloquent brilliancies, lofty assumptions, and alluring comprehensiveness of Victor Cousin and the eclectics.

In the execution of this task, Mr. Morell has displayed a very high degree of learning and ability. To the praise of impartiality he does not aspire, for the work is polemical throughout; but he has honestly aimed to give a fair representation of the views which he opposes; and has, we think, succeeded on the whole in so doing. In this second edition, the most striking defect of the first has been remedied, by the insertion of references to the original works commented upon; so that the reader is no longer obliged to take what the author says, for granted, but may examine and judge for himself.

Already a favourable verdict has been pronounced by the public on these volumes. Our notice of the first edition was on its way to the printers, when we were induced to suspend our criticisms by the intimation that a second and improved edition might soon be expected. Without altogether coinciding in the author's exalted estimate of the importance of a widely-diffused cultivation of philosophy, we rejoice in the indication thus afforded of the interest felt in philosophical questions among the countrymen of John Locke. We are glad that we have men amongst us capable of producing such a work, and are happy to bear testimony, that the present edition is an improvement on the former in other points besides the important matter of references.

The preface to the first edition informed us that the work was designed 'not so much for philosophers, as for the mass of educated and thinking minds in our own country.' Indeed, the extent of ground traversed is so great, as to necessitate a general and popular treatment of many topics, rather than one thoroughly searching and scientific. Above half of the first volume is occupied with a very condensed survey of the various systems which dawned and set during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is, strictly speaking, only introductory to the main topic indicated in the title-page. But the work would have been incomplete—especially for the class of readers above alluded to—without some account of the father of modern German philosophy. Mr. Morell has attempted to present to the English reader the substance of Kant's system, divested as far as possible of its ponderous and disgusting phraseology; and his account, though brief, is the clearest and best yet published in our language.

For most readers, the chief value of these volumes will consist, not in the criticisms of English writers, or the discussion

of metaphysical questions, (though under both these heads they contain much valuable matter,) but in the introduction which they furnish to the philosophy of modern Germany. No small number of intelligent and educated readers have heard a great deal, and, perhaps, fancied a great deal more, about 'German Philosophy,' without having the smallest accurate notion of what those words denote. German philosophy is to them a mysterious region of clouds and dreams, overhung with fogs of mysticism, gaping with bottomless abysses of scepticism, and peopled with all sorts of logical monsters and 'chimeras dire.' To such readers, an exposition of the leading German systems, in readable, if not always intelligible, English (as near an approach to 'plain English' as the subject and the limits allow,) will be valuable and welcome. Not the less valuable, we are tempted to add, to a large proportion of readers, if it makes them content to postpone the further study of the modern Teutonic lights, until they have become more fully acquainted with the elder sages of Greece and of England.

Our limits forbid anything like a complete examination of a work which is in itself but a review. The points upon which we shall offer a few remarks, in the spirit of free but friendly criticism, relate rather to the general principles pervading the work, than to the details of its execution.

In his Introduction, Mr. Morell begins by explaining what philosophy is; and proceeds to vindicate it against objections, and to show that its rise is the inevitable result of the progress of human intellect; or, to borrow the language of Cousin (to whom our author pays a much higher deference than we could desire,) 'que la philosophie est un besoin special, certain, permanent, indestructible, de l'esprit humain.' 'Le jour,' says M. Cousin, 'où un homme a refléchi, ce jour-là la philosophie a été créée.' 'The first man,' says Mr. Morell, 'that *reflected*, was the first speculative philosopher—the first time that ever thought returned to inquire into itself, and arrest its own trains, was the commencement of intellectual philosophy.' This is true in the same sense that we might say, that the first day that the expansive force of steam was observed to lift the lid of a tea-kettle, '*ce jour-là*' steam-boats and locomotives were invented. But we could wish for a more precise and satisfactory definition of philosophy than is here furnished. In a mere biographical history of opinions, a rigid definition might be superfluous. In a systematic work, avowedly on a philosophic basis, we naturally look for it. The definition to which our author seems most inclined is, that 'it is the science of *realities*, in opposition to mere appearances; the attempt to comprehend things as they *are*, rather than as they *seem*', (p. 4). But (not to mention other

objections that might be raised) does not the latter clause of this definition contradict the former? 'Science,' we submit, is *knowledge*, not 'the attempt to know.' In the commencement of the following section, the author speaks of philosophy as 'the striving of man's reason to comprehend the great problems of the world within and the world without, to probe their real nature, and assign their true origin.' This is still far too vague to be satisfactory. It might serve for a general description of the efforts of the human intellect in pursuit of truth, wherever, in any branch of study, inquiry soars above the dregs of detail, and the dusty beaten path of observation, into the free atmosphere of cogitation and general reasoning.

Let not our readers imagine that we are raising a mere verbal question. If an author finds himself at a loss to define his subject at the outset, he would do well to suspect some obscurity, and perhaps incorrectness in his ideas. An accurate definition of what philosophy is, might furnish some criterion of what it can do. Perhaps, too, it might tend somewhat to lower those exalted ideas of the province and dignity of philosophy in general, and eclectic philosophy in particular, which we cannot help thinking Mr. Morell owes rather to the eloquence of M. Cousin, than to his own sober reflection and judgment. The French professor avowedly regards religion as but an earlier stage in that mental progress of which philosophy is the goal and consummation; 'the cradle' of that wisdom, which displays in philosophy its mature developement. From the former we are to learn the alphabet of truth; but it is the latter who holds the volume and expounds its mysteries. Such sentiments do not surprise us, when we remember that with the French philosopher religion is synonymous with popery. With Mr. Morell, however, it is a very different thing; and we should have been glad had he guarded his readers more distinctly against the ultimate tendency of M. Cousin's views of philosophy. Of that tendency, every student of Cousin's writings ought to be aware.

We have no sympathy with the objection (discussed, vol. i., pp. 23, *ff.*) that philosophy is superseded by revelation. With much that Mr. Morell has advanced in refutation of it, we cordially agree. Much less do we for a moment imagine that religion has anything to fear from the progress of a sound philosophy. But, on the other hand, it appears to us going a great deal too far to assert (p. 26), that 'the authority of revelation itself must, to a considerable extent, rest upon philosophic thinking.' 'All religion,' argues Mr. Morell, 'reposes upon the idea of God. Without this idea, revelation itself has no weight, inasmuch as its authority is solely derivable from the fact of its coming from God.' There is here some indistinctness

of expression, if not of thought. The actual (objective) authority of revelation—its right to claim obedience—rests on the fact, duly attested, of its coming from God. Its subjective authority, its practical sway over the mind and conscience, of course depends not on 'the idea of God' (for the bare *idea* could never afford the basis for any thing but speculation), but on our conviction, our belief, that God exists. The simple question, then, is, are we indebted for this belief or conviction, to 'philosophic thinking?' Or, if it has presumed to spring up in the mind from some other source, are we to hold it in abeyance, till dubious philosophy, with her transcendental balance, has weighed the validity of its claims? We fearlessly affirm, that it rests on an independent foundation, as secure and immovable as any of the conclusions of philosophy.

After showing (what, of course, all must allow) that revelation must, of necessity, *assume* the existence of a God, and therefore cannot logically demonstrate it, Mr. Morell proceeds with his argument thus:—

'All revealed religion, accordingly, rests upon the pedestal of natural religion; all natural religion, again, rests upon the existence of a God; and the certainty of his existence must be derived from the relation of the laws of nature to those of the human mind. If these laws be not established, natural religion fails of a foundation; and if the foundation of natural religion sinks, the whole authority of revealed religion sinks, with it, to a nonentity. Revelation, therefore, so far from putting a check upon philosophical investigation, in reference to these topics, renders it, in fact, only so much the more necessary, and so much the more valuable, in proportion as the superstructure, which, by the aid of revelation, we build upon it, becomes to us of the deeper importance.'—pp. 28, 29.

There seems some lack of perspicuity here. *Which* are the laws that need to be established—those of nature, or of mind? and what is meant by their being 'established.' The writer cannot mean to propound the idle truism, that unless these laws are actually in force, our argument from them is invalid. Nor can he mean, that they must all be scientifically expressed, and philosophically demonstrated, before we can conclude that we read the handwriting of Deity in creation. In that case, it would still, in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, be illogical to believe in a God; since many of the laws both of nature and of mind are still debated, or unknown. If, as we conjecture, the meaning be, that the *harmony*, or correspondence of these two sets of laws must be established, in order to render valid the argument from the seen to the unseen, from nature

to God ;—in other words, that the grand question be answered, *whether the subjective laws which invincibly govern our belief, do, in fact, correspond to the objective laws of nature, and the reality of things without us* ; then this is the very fundamental problem of all metaphysics, which philosophy, in every attempt to solve, invariably and inevitably takes for granted.

In his appendix (vol. ii., pp. 639—652), Mr. Morell has expressed himself in a way so much less open to objection, that we cannot but wonder that he has not modified the passage from the text. The distinction, which in the latter seems lost sight of, between religion and theology—practical belief and speculative science—is expressly laid down in the appendix. Religion, Mr. Morell justly remarks, ‘may exist without a theology at all, properly so called’ ; and, it may be added, theology will never teach religion. We fully agree with Mr. Morell so far, that philosophy, using the word in a loose sense, is essential to theology, as a science. Theology is the philosophy of religious truth. Indeed, if by philosophy we mean merely ‘intense application of reason,’ (p. 650) what science is there to which it is not necessary ? But we would reclaim quite as earnestly against the substitution of theology as against that of philosophy, for religion. We are among those who believe that theology is a progressive science, if, indeed, it can claim to be a science ; but we believe religion to be unchangeable, the same in all ages, though capable, subjectively considered, of varying degrees of strength and purity in different individuals. The voice of religion is the voice not of a disputant, but of a teacher. Its evidence is analogous to that (though far more cogent), on which we act in all practical matters. It dwells in the region, not of ideas, but of facts. It teaches us that to reason is a less exalted thing than to love and to work, and its authority rests on a more substantial basis than the good or ill success of human reasonings in systematizing or explaining the truths it teaches, and the duties it ordains.

The masterly outline which Mr. Morell has given of the natural-religious argument, is worthy of high praise. It is in his best style. Yet it seems to us, that he has not sufficiently discriminated between the actual carrying on of a process of reasoning, and the analysis of that process. Obviously, it is the latter only which comes within the province of metaphysical philosophy. The validity of the process in no wise depends on our ability to analyse it. It is only recently that anything like a complete system of the logic of induction has been attempted. Archbishop Whately and Mr. J. S. Mill are at variance on the theory, not only of induction, but even of syllogism. The

validity of the processes, however, has survived the controversy,—is still unimpeachable. The most perfect system of logic could never render a good syllogism or a complete induction, one whit more valid or convincing. Who would dream of asserting, that unless the laws of induction can be philosophically 'established,' inductive reasoning 'fails of a foundation,' and astronomy, geology, or any other science based thereon, 'sinks with it into a nonentity'? Yet natural theology is just as much an affair of induction as geology, though its scope and discoveries are infinitely more sublime and important. What claim, then, can philosophy put in to be esteemed essential in one case, in any sense or degree in which it is not essential in the other?

We can understand Mr. Morell's estimate of the importance of philosophy only in one of two ways;—either by supposing that he applies the term philosophy to any process of close logical thought, on the most exalted topics,—in which case we have no dispute with him, except as to the propriety of the term; or else, that he regards the philosophical analysis of a process of thought as essential to the validity of its results; in which case we strongly demur to his position.

A familiar instance may illustrate the question. Our conviction of the existence and general attributes of God is of the same kind with many other practical convictions, differing chiefly in the infinite importance of its object. Take, for example, the conviction which a man who has never left England, nor conversed with a traveller from India or New Zealand, entertains of the existence of the inhabitants of those countries, and of the obligation resting upon him to be just and benevolent towards those unseen beings, as well as towards 'his brother whom he hath seen.' The objections and difficulties of philosophical scepticism would apply as logically, though they would not be felt as forcibly, in this case as in the other. And the answer in both cases would be the same.

'Philosophic thinking,' it is true, may be so far a requisite basis of faith in *certain individual* minds, in regard to all matters belonging to the domain of 'Practical Reason,' as it furnishes a reply to the difficulties which a false philosophy had started. But how, after all, does a sound philosophy dispose of those difficulties? Not by a direct disproof, but by showing that, fully carried out, they are as fatal to the conclusions of philosophy as to those of common sense. Not by bringing to light some new ground of belief, but by analysing the process by which convictions are formed in common minds, so far as to show that it is a healthful and conclusive one, unless all belief be hallucination, and the human mind itself a lie; and that, to be consistent, you have but two alternatives,—either to acknow-

ledge the trustworthiness and divine authority of revelation, or to disbelieve *everything* but your own existence, and to doubt even that. And if the sceptic actually intrenches himself in this last position, philosophy has never yet forged the weapons that can dislodge him from it.

If these remarks seem to have extended to a disproportionate length, it must be borne in mind that they are not restricted in their application to the particular passages which have immediately suggested them. The question to which we would direct the attention of our readers, and the readers of the work before us, relates to no subordinate inquiry, but to the entire spirit, design, and expectations with which either the history of philosophy should be written, or the study of philosophy pursued. Such arrogant claims as are advanced by some modern systems are injurious, we are persuaded, not alone to those systems themselves, but also to the progress of true philosophy. Philosophy, the moment she claims infallibility, has laid aside her proper character, and forfeited all claim to our confidence. Professing to be *σοφία*, she ceases to be *φιλοσοφία*. The spirit of the true philosopher resembles that of the true Christian: 'not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect.' The attempt to exalt philosophy above religion, and make speculation, instead of faith, the soul's guiding star, as it is utterly unsuited to our present condition and faculties, so it is fatal to a sound and healthy state of mind, intellectual or moral.

There is indeed a sense in which it might be correctly said, that religious truth is 'the cradle' of philosophical; that revelation is but a temporary forestalling of the discoveries of speculation or intuition, and faith the preceptress to whose care reason is for a time entrusted, during its infancy or minority. To walk by faith is the characteristic of an immature state, awaiting a higher development. At first, the largest part of a child's knowledge is matter of faith. We might say, nearly the whole of it, if the term faith be used in so wide a sense as to include our instinctive confidence in the involuntary experience of sensation and consciousness, and in those primary intuitions, which, whether the offspring of the mind itself, or of inspiration, are certainly not the product of *reasoning*, but the basis of it. In this sense, knowledge must for ever rest on a basis of faith. If, for example, you doubt the testimony of memory,—for the truth of which you cannot by possibility have any evidence but what itself supplies,—you must discredit all the processes of reasoning, and be condemned to eternal and universal ignorance and unbelief. But we speak now of that portion of knowledge,—a very large portion, even in the mind of the most experienced sage,—which

is derived from the testimony of others. This is in the strictest sense matter of faith. At every stage of the child's intellectual progress, some portion of his knowledge is removed from the basis of testimony, and placed on that of his own reasoning, or personal experience. Not only are his erroneous beliefs corrected, but the exercise of faith, even with regard to what is true, is gradually superseded by more direct knowledge; just as the approach of sunrise, that scatters the gloom and mists of night, renders useless the lamp that had guided the traveller amid the darkness. We have but to suppose a continuance of this same process, and some of the deepest mysteries of revelation may hereafter present, in the daylight of familiar contemplation, the aspect of almost self-evident truths,—no longer the limit, but the starting point, of our most exalted reasonings.

All this is readily granted. Now we know in part; and when that which is perfect is come, that which is partial shall be done away. But it is equally true, (and this is just what philosophy, or rather the professed philosopher, is so apt and willing to forget,) that the present *is* a state of mere childhood. Individually, and perhaps as a race, we are still in our infancy. Human reason is not destined to attain its full and mature development within the space of threescore years and ten. Those high discoveries which should supersede revelation by experience, and faith (in a measure) by direct knowledge, are reserved for another stage of our history than the earthly. And the so-called sage who forgets this, is about as wise as the traveller who should fling his lamp into the quagmire, and trust to his logical acumen to 'construct' (as the Germans would say) a probable, possible, or demonstrable path through the darkness of night, and amidst real and actual morasses, pitfalls, and precipices.

From this digression, which is not altogether a digression, either, we return to Mr. Morell's Introduction.

After an ingenious section, on which we cannot stay to comment, proving that the rise of philosophy is inevitable, Mr. Morell comes to consider 'the Primary Elements of Human Knowledge' (vol. i. pp. 48—63). And here we are met at the threshold by a mistake on which we must bestow a few words, not only out of regard for our author, but because it has long appeared to us one of the most fruitful of metaphysical errors; and (if we may express such a conviction without incurring the charge of presumption,) one which has vitiated the speculations of some of the most acute metaphysicians. The error is that of confounding Generalization with Analysis. 'The most ordinary ideas of mankind,' says Mr. Morell, 'are the most

complex, and the effect of the *united process of abstraction and generalization* is gradually to simplify them until we arrive at the ultimate elements of which they consist.' (p. 48.) Again, (p. 49.) 'in generalizing our knowledge, so as to deduce the ultimate elements of which it consists, there are two methods which may be employed. Either we may make a classification of all objective things around us, as being the *material* of our thoughts and feelings; and having reduced them to their most universal heads, regard these as the required elements; or, on the other hand, we may analyse our consciousness, and having reduced the mental processes we find there to the smallest possible number, assume these as the elements from which all the multiplicity of our thoughts proceeds.'

Passing over some points on which we feel inclined to comment (such as the assumption that 'objective things around us,' are 'the *material* of our thoughts and feelings,') we wish to call attention to the main error which we think these statements involve. Now, if there be a distinction in metaphysics which it is of importance to see clearly and grasp tenaciously, we should say it is the distinction between analysis and generalization. It is matter of astonishment that it is so often lost sight of. 'Generalization' is defined by Archbishop Whateley as 'the act of comprehending under a common name several objects agreeing in some point which we abstract from each of them, and which that common name serves to indicate.' It will make no difference if any one prefers to say, 'under a general idea,' instead of 'under a common name.' Evidently, this is a process of *classification*. Indeed, the two terms are often used as convertible, and are so employed by Mr. Morell. Analysis, on the contrary, is the *taking to pieces* some complex object, and resolving it into its proximate, mediate, or ultimate elements. Classification may be, and mostly is, founded on some sort of analysis. Analysis may, and often does, lead to classification. But the two processes are not merely distinct, but opposite. Analysis proceeds upon the perception of difference; classification on that of resemblance. Analysis, rightly conducted, brings real accession to our knowledge; classification does but arrange our knowledge in a more convenient form. Generalisation gives us a greater command over our knowledge of particulars; but if carried far, a danger arises of our mistaking words for ideas, and abstract notions for realities. And the further it is carried, the more vague do our ideas necessarily become. Analysis, on the contrary, breaks down our knowledge into parts; it leads us away from the general to the particular; and the further it is carried the more definite do our ideas become. Yet Mr. Morell evidently speaks of these

processes as either identical, or at all events leading to identical results. What he represents as the effect of the united processes of abstraction and generalisation, 'gradually to simplify' our ideas, 'until we arrive at the ultimate elements of which thy consist,' is really the result of abstraction, employed as the instrument of analysis. But generalisation gives not the elements of our complex ideas, but new ideas, framed from those elements.

But let us pursue Mr. Morell's account of the 'primary elements of human knowledge' a little further. After referring to the categories of Aristotle and Kant, he comes to explain those of M. Cousin, 'who, with singular depth and clearness, has criticised the labours of Kant, and by the application of all the rigour of modern analysis, has reduced the whole of the Kantian categories to *two fundamental ideas*,' (pp. 53, 54). These two fundamental ideas are those of *action* and *being*. As we despair of exhibiting this sublime analysis in its true splendour by any exposition we could give of it, we quote a brief passage from M. Cousin himself.*

'La raison, dans quelque sens qu'elle se développe, à quoi que ce soit qu'elle s'applique, quoi que ce soit qu'elle considère, ne peut rien concevoir que sous la condition de deux idées qui président à l'exercice de son activité, savoir : l'idée de l'un et du multiple, du fini et de l'infini, de l'être et du paraître, de la substance et du phénomène, de la cause absolue et des causes secondes, de l'absolu et du relatif, du nécessaire et du contingent, de l'immensité et de l'espace, de l'éternité et du temps, etc. En rapprochant toutes ces propositions, en rapprochant, par exemple, tous leurs premiers termes, une analyse approfondie les identifie ; elle identifie également tous les seconds termes entre eux ; de sorte que de toutes ces propositions comparées et combinées, il résulte une seule proposition, une seule formule, qui est la formule même de la pensée, et qui vous pouvez exprimer selon les cas, par l'un et le multiple, le temps et l'éternité, l'espace et l'immensité, l'unité et la variété, la substance et le phénomène, etc.'

Notwithstanding the acknowledged infallibility and omniscience of the reviewer's chair, we cannot suppress the feeling of great diffidence in attempting to point out the errors of such men as M. Cousin, and other eminent writers who appear to us not free from the confusion of which we have spoken. Doubtless, it would be more for our reputation as philosophers, were we to soar into the clouds, and pour forth our rapturous admiration of 'the rigour of modern analysis' as here exemplified.

* Cours de Phil. Introduction à l'Hist. de la Phil. Leçon 5me. (at the commencement.)

Yet, at the risk of being set down as sorely devoid of Teutonic '*Tiefe*,' we cannot help asking, *How* does 'a learned analysis,' or any analysis at all, identify the ideas contained under these two sets of terms? By what process of analysis, for example, is the idea of unity identified with that of infinity? Is the former more closely connected, even, with the latter, than with the idea of finiteness? The truth is, under the words—'one, unity,' we include two distinct ideas; that of single, a unit, and that of entire, a whole, (whether made up of parts, or indivisible). An atom, or a mathematical point, is a unit; God is one. In the first sense, unity actually implies finiteness; in the second, though it may co-exist with infinity, it surely does not logically imply it. Again, how are the ideas of 'substance' and 'immensity' identified with each other? Whether any logical magic lurks in the phrase '*absolute* substance,' we do not pretend to say, since we are at some loss to divine what relative substance would be. But we venture to think that the earliest idea which the mind receives of substance, is closely connected, not with infinity, but with its opposite, and is expressed in the word 'thing.' The most natural and spontaneous conception of infinity, on the other hand, (we do not say, most correct) is probably the very opposite of substance,—that of *boundless nothing*.

Waiving, with the utmost humility, all right to be oracular, we leave it to our philosophic readers to decide, whether this vaunted analysis is, properly speaking, any analysis at all; or whether, in truth, it is anything but a classification of thoughts (into the utility of which it concerns not us to inquire) founded on the very simple logical fact, that 'every name which denotes an attribute, divides, by that very fact, all things whatever into two classes, those which have the attribute, and those which have not;' which division 'is not merely a division of such things as actually exist, or are known to exist, but of all such as may hereafter be discovered, and even of all such as can be imagined.* In other words, that whatever category the mind forms to itself, implies a universal category diametrically opposed to it. If this be granted, it will follow that we have here nothing less than an instance on a gigantic scale, of the confusion between generalization and analysis, before commented upon; and that to speak of 'M. Cousin's ultimate reduction of the primary elements of all our knowledge,' is to confer a grandiloquent misnomer.

On this topic we will only add, that any one who chooses to pursue it, may discover abundant examples in the writings of Dr. Thomas Brown. Perhaps such an investigation may sug-

* J. S. Mill's Syst. of Logic, vol. ii., p. 299.

gest the question, whether the admiration so often accorded to that philosopher for his analytic subtilty, be not rather due to his sparkling imagination, and quick perception of analogies and resemblances. He could weave a brilliant tissue from his own marvellously active brain ; but we question if he was fitted patiently to unravel the web of nature.*

Human knowledge being reduced to its primary elements, the reader might suppose that even the most rigid modern analysis had done its work. No such thing. Let him proceed a few pages further, and he will find Mr. Morell arriving at the conclusion—

‘That the three great and primary elements of all our knowledge are, firstly (first?), the idea of our own individual existence, or of finite mind in general ; secondly, the idea of nature ; and, thirdly, the idea of the absolute and eternal, as manifested in the pure conceptions of our impersonal reason. Every notion of our intellectual life, we believe, may be traced to one of these sources, and we regard them, therefore, as the primitive elements of all our knowledge—starting points from which every true system of philosophy must take its rise.’—p. 63.

Were this classification propounded by some stripling logician, we should not hesitate a moment to condemn it as a manifest cross-division. Abashed by the great names which may be advanced in support of it, we feel much greater hesitation in indulging, still more in expressing, such a conclusion, yet equally at a loss to avoid it. Moreover, by speaking of the *sources* of our knowledge, Mr. Morell leaves room for a question whether, after all, he has in view a classification of thoughts, as such, or of things ; or whether, by possibility, he confounds the two. ‘Elements of knowledge,’ as we have already seen, denote, in the philosophy adopted by our author, the most general ideas to which our knowledge can be reduced. But these vague abstractions can never be the sources of the particular knowledge, from which, on the contrary, they are generated. The real sources of our knowledge, the actual roots or fountains of

* ‘Generalization’ is often employed to denote induction, the process of inferring general propositions from particular. Of course this must be carefully distinguished from the generalization spoken of above. The latter is a formal process of classification ; inductive generalization, a material process of inference. Yet the confusion of these two has been almost as fruitful of logical disputes, as the confusion we have attempted to point out, of metaphysical error.

At p. 192, vol. ii., in the account of Hegel, Mr. Morell appears to confound generalizing up to a first principle with tracing to a first cause. This error is, in fact, an essential part of Hegel’s system.

our conceptions must be, not ideas, but actually existing things; the soul itself, for example, or divine inspiration, or the external world. If, then, the question be, to classify existing things, the division into 'self, and not-self,' or again, into 'mind, and not mind,' is exhaustive, including all existence, actual or possible, finite or infinite, absolute or conditioned. 'Finite mind in general,' would then be a subdivision under one of these heads. If, on the other hand, the problem be to classify *knowledge* (whether ideas or propositions), the division into absolute or necessary, and conditioned, or not necessary, or again into mutable and immutable, seems equally exhaustive. To intermingle the two processes, and present us with a threefold division, into nature, the soul, and the absolute, does appear to our dull apprehension laying a foundation, on which no solid superstructure can ever rest.*

Accordingly, in adopting M. Cousin's excellent classification of philosophical systems, Mr. Morell has found it necessary to disencumber himself as speedily as possible of this unwieldy third element, by merging it in one of the other two. A procedure which certainly tends much both to his own comfort and to his reader's instruction, by leaving him at liberty to present the progress of philosophy under its fourfold aspect of idealism, sensationalism, mysticism, and scepticism.

We have exhausted our limits, leaving untouched many topics that would have invited remark. The work itself is but a review, glancing at many subjects, the full discussion of which would demand a work five or six times the size. Nevertheless, within these comparatively narrow limits, many of the deepest questions of metaphysics are treated with great clearness and reach of thought, and much information is both evinced and conveyed. We regret that we have not space for any remarks on our author's treatment of the various great schools of the nineteenth century. There is much acute reasoning in his account of 'Modern Sensationalism in England,' especially in connexion with the necessarian controversy; and some admirable criticisms on the Scottish school, particularly on Stewart and Brown. In his exposition of the German systems, we could wish that Mr. Morell had either not criticised at all, confining himself to simple history and interpretation, or else that his criticisms had been far more searching. We might say the same in reference to eclecticism, of which we deem our author more than sufficiently enamoured. For example, in the account of

* We cannot help expressing the pleasure with which we have found the views we have here ventured to express, countenanced by a very able, though somewhat harsh, critic of Mr. Morell, in the *Prospective Review*.

Kant, while some minor objections are stated, no attempt is made to probe and sift the system itself. Its main assumptions Mr. Morell seems to regard as beyond question. Are they so? Is the human intellect really constructed on the precise and formal model laid down by the sage of Koenigsberg? These nicely balanced categories, arranged with such suspicious and artificial looking exactitude, three under each head, are they the true alphabet of human thought? Or has the love of system, the fatal snare of capacious intellects, exercised here, too, its wonted influence, in exalting some secondary phenomena to the rank of primary, and keeping some things which are really essential, out of view? Are even the famous distinctions between reason and understanding, and between the matter and the form of thought, based on perfect, or on imperfect mental analysis? Again, in the concluding remarks on Hegel's system, the *second* of a list of objections is, that there is '*a confusion* between the logical process of thinking, and the real process of things themselves.' A confusion, truly! This strikes us as not unlike saying, that one objection to Locke's system is, that there is a tendency to overlook other sources of ideas besides sensation and reflection; when the denial of any such sources is the very basis of the system. This confusion is, if we at all understand the matter, the very essence of Hegel's philosophy. When we find such an objection merely ranked as second in a list, we cannot help being reminded of the lawyer who, after commencing a list of reasons for the non-appearance of a witness, with some reason which we have forgotten, proceeded: 'Secondly, my lord, the witness is dead.' When the next edition of Mr. Morell's work is called for, we would earnestly urge him to consider whether his admiration of the genius of the continental philosophers, and, perhaps, the labour which an acquaintance with their systems necessarily involves, have not led him to attach more than due value to the fruit of their elaborate cogitations, and to probe their defects with too sparing a hand.

One word we must be allowed in reference to the very important point of style. A philosophical style should be a model of perspicuity, purity, precision, and manly vigour. We are very glad to trace an improvement in this respect in the new edition. But Mr. Morell must permit us to say that his style, though in some points worthy of commendation, is not so good as we think he could make it in point either of clearness, propriety, or brevity. We subjoin in a note two or three examples out of many which struck us in reading.* Our readers will not, we

* Vol. i. p. 3. In the sentence beginning, 'The first man,' does the author mean that it was inevitable that the philosophic process should go on in the mind of that same primitive philosopher? If so, why? Or,

hope, suspect us of any ill-natured pleasure in criticizing; but we confess to a jealous and watchful fear, lest the prevailing study of German should exert a seriously hurtful influence on our own noble language. Much as we admire the German language, we cannot but think that all the benefits likely to be derived from its cultivation would be dearly purchased at such a price. The language of a nation is the reflection of the mind of the nation, and one of its most precious inheritances. Whatever corrupts the language, inflicts an injury on the national mind. And thoughts that will not bear being thoroughly transplanted into our language, are not likely to take deep root amongst us, or to bear much useful fruit.

To conclude. We have derived much pleasure and instruction from Mr. Morell's 'View of the Speculative Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century.' The work supplies a deficiency in our literature which no other work in our language can pretend to fill. And there are probably very few men in England who could have done it better. We close the volumes, however, with the feeling awakened by their opening pages, of the importance of a clear idea and precise definition of what we mean by philosophy. If by philosophy we understand the *science of knowledge*—or, rather, the attempt to construct that science—to examine the grounds of our convictions, the processes of our arguments, the nature of our ideas, and the compass and certainty of our knowledge—we agree with our author that this is a legitimate and natural employment of our faculties, '*un besoin de l'esprit humain.*' In this sense, the only basis of philosophy is psychology. The science of knowledge must be measured in its progress, limits, and value, by the science of mind. But if by philosophy we are to understand the '*striving of human reason*' to solve insoluble problems—to

that from that time philosophy must obtain among men. How so, if our friend 'the first man,' never happened to publish his theories? The obscurity in expression here seems to arise from indefiniteness of thought. At p. 5, we are told, 'the philosophic spirit, *when once begun*, ever strives after a perfected system, in which every phenomenon within or around *it* (?) shall be accounted for.' At p. 564, where it is said that a certain theory would 'reduce creation to chance, religion to folly, and all mankind to atheism, the phrase 'reduce to' is used in three senses at once. Page 161 would present an improved appearance if '*the bud*' of atheism, *showing its colours in their deepest dye*, were treated with the pruning knife. Is there not here a confusion of three metaphors? Vol. ii. p. 22, 'died in the *very ascendancy* of his genius,' is scarcely English. 'Multiplicity of antagonisms,' (p. 438), is an outlandish phrase, not at all to our taste. But, above all, we entreat Mr. Morell to abjure that vile Americanism, 'to progress.' Why should this ugly interloper supplant 'advance,' or 'make progress?' Yet not content with this, Mr. M. has something still worse (shade of Johnson!) to 'progress onwards.'

dispense with the light of revelation—to prove by reasoning, fundamental facts, incapable alike of proof or disproof, but which we must receive on pain of being plunged into boundless Pyrrhonism—or to bring the infinite, the absolute, and the eternal, within the compass of the baby-mind of man—then we must confess that we do not estimate very highly either the merits or the prospects of such philosophy. As well might men try to sound the ocean with a skipping-rope, or to light the universe with a taper. On the ground on which the cause of philosophy is placed by the sceptical historian, Mr. Lewes, we should be quite willing to accept the challenge in its favour; but on that assumed by the eclectics and the Germans, we must give up the cause as hopeless. The genius expended in the construction of the elaborate systems which Mr. Morell has with so much ability endeavoured to interpret to the common-sense intellect of English readers, does but confirm, we venture to think, Bacon's remark, that a swift racer, if once on a wrong track, will go wrong much faster and further than an ordinary man.

ART. III.—1. *The Divine Authority and Permanent Obligation of the Sabbath.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., Congregational Church, Glasgow.

2. *Traces and Indications of the Primitive Sabbath in many of the Institutions and Observances of the Ancient World.* By the Rev. John Jordan, Vicar of Enstone, Oxon.
3. *The Sabbath not a mere Judaical Appointment, with examination of the more prevalent Fallacies by which it has been attempted to show that the Sabbath-Law has been Abolished or Relaxed.* By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, B.A., United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh. Glasgow: Maclehose and Bryce.

WE have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of the controversy which has recently been agitated in Scotland, and into which has been infused more than the ordinary amount of bitterness and wrath, on the subject of Sunday trains. We have been especially interested in its bearing on the more general question of the moral obligation of the Christian Sabbath. Had the question, so fiercely discussed, been simply a religious one, as it was apt to be regarded, we could have more calmly waited the issue of the controversy. But it was mixed up with other questions on which a diversity of opinion may

exist, and does exist, in the minds of those who are perfectly at one in their views of the sanctity and moral obligation of the first day of the week as a Christian Sabbath. This diversity and opposition of opinion upon these incidental and secondary questions, has given rise to the notion among the unthinking, or the prejudiced, that there exists great uncertainty among Christians respecting the obligation of the Lord's-day. And the secular and irreligious portion of the periodical press has not been slow to circulate and corroborate this impression.

It was never more necessary for Christians to unite in attesting their solemn adherence to this Christian institute, as a day—a whole day—for rest from labour, and for spiritual service. And the originators of this series of tractates upon the various aspects of this great subject, have shown themselves to be men ‘that have understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do.’ Such a series of tracts is well fitted to counteract the evil to which we have just alluded; and to place the whole question of the Sabbath on a clear and certain basis.

There have been certain incidental and irrelevant elements in this controversy, considered as affecting the sanctity and obligation of the Sabbath, which we will with all brevity point out.

I. The alleged discrepancy betwixt the sentiments of the English and Scottish people respecting the observance of the Sabbath.

This alleged difference has been largely referred to, to rouse the zeal of the Northern people against any alteration of their national habits of reverence for the Sabbath. And it is beyond all question, that there is a wide diversity in the manner in which the Lord's-day is outwardly observed on the different sides of the Tweed—a diversity very much to be accounted for by the form and issue of those religious struggles through which the two nations have respectively passed. Nationally considered, the reformation in Scotland was much more thorough, that is, produced a much more conspicuous change from the principles and forms of popery, than in England. We do not say that the religious leaders in the former nation penetrated more profoundly into scriptural truth, or argued more conclusively against Romish pretensions. But in Scotland the struggle was more in the hands of the people, and consequently impressed the national mind with its own stamp; while in England the ruling powers with whom it had in great measure originated, kept the movement in their own hands, put an earlier check to its progress, and subjected it more openly to the restraints of monarchical authority, than was ever pretended to, or conceived of, in the other nation. There was, therefore,

in Scotland from the very beginning of the reformation, a more widely diffused conviction of the sanctity and spiritual obligation of the first day of the week, as a Sabbath, than at any time prevailed in England.

But subsequent events operated still more powerfully to perpetuate this diversity. During the struggle between the first Charles and the parliament, and during the reign of the Protector, the religious portion of the community in England held as sound scriptural views of the obligation of the Lord's-day, and maintained as spiritual an observance of it, as Scotland ever witnessed, with much less of that stern severity of spirit, and gloomy moroseness, which the direful struggles of that northern people, added to their natural temper, gave to their observance of it. But it may be said, that this brightest and best period in the religious history of England, was produced by the presence and labours of the Scottish commissioners and Scottish armies in that country. So these Scottish commissioners, with pardonable self-importance, have recorded for the faith of future generations; and subsequent historians have obsequiously attested their claim. We take the liberty of estimating that influence at considerably less than it has generally been reckoned; and we rest our judgment on the entire train of English history from that day to this. Let it be remembered that the *religious* portion of the English people, even from the time of Henry VIII., held sentiments on the subject of the Sabbath, never very widely different from those which prevail in Scotland;—that it was the religious mind of England that produced the great puritan struggle which the peculiar conjuncture of Scottish affairs only aided in bringing to a crisis;—that no one wishing to retain a character for common sense will pretend, that the majority of the Westminster Assembly of divines learned their religion from the Scottish commissioners; or had the tone of their religious sentiments perceptibly altered by their presence, although they were visibly influenced and guided in the preparation of a platform of church-government, and a directory of worship, by these practised and zealous strangers. But the doctrine of the Westminster divines is, and has from that period been, the standard of the Scottish national faith upon this and every other religious topic.

Since there was this identity of sentiment in the two countries at the time the national faith of Scotland was fixed by these standards, whence the visible diversity of sentiment and practice now? At the Restoration, anti-puritan, anti-presbyterian, anti-evangelical principles rose into the ascendant upon the ruins of the Commonwealth. The religion of the dominant party greatly consisted in running as far as possible from the spirit,

sentiments, and practices of the religious party over which they had at last triumphed. Nonconformists from the restored national church were by persecution diminished in number, enfeebled in spirit, almost extinguished. And though better times have succeeded, this anti-puritan party has never been dislodged from its power; its influence is still great; and the spirit then and ever since so actively antagonistic to the simplicity and spirituality of Christian institutions, has given mould and temper to the religious sentiments and observances of the English nation. And thus it will be until the growing power and importance of nonconformists shall either regenerate, or overthrow, the dominant sect in that country.

The Scottish people, on the other hand, amid all their terrible persecutions for the national faith and worship, held fast their religion. Whatever rank and power the prelatic party at any time acquired, the nation was not under their influence, or of their views. And thus it continued, until the arm of oppression was exhausted, and Scotland's rights were finally secured.

While it is, therefore, quite true that, betwixt the two nations, considered as *nations*, there is a wide diversity of sentiment and practice; it is equally true, that among the religious, i. e., the evangelical and pious portion of both nations, there is not, and there never has been, any such diversity—except it be, that the manner and mood of observance by the one, have been somewhat more cheerful and radiant, than of the other,—a diversity explainable by the difference in the natural temper and mental habits of the two peoples.

But in the continual reference, during the recent controversy, to these national diversities, the distinction we have now made was entirely overlooked. The notion was apt to be engendered, that the religious in the two nations are divided respecting the obligation of the Christian Sabbath. This is quite an error. They are not, and never were divided. And, allowing for the full extent to which the views of Dr. Paley, Dr. Whately, and others, have been adopted, we may, without fear of contradiction, affirm, that the great body of truly religious men in both kingdoms are of one mind as to the spiritual obligation of the first day of the week—the Lord's-day, as a day of rest and spiritual observance.

Another most pernicious effect of this alleged difference was the waking up of a spirit of pride and rivalry betwixt the two peoples; inducing citizens of the one nation, from merely national partiality and pride, to indulge a laxity of sentiment and discourse, into which they would not otherwise have fallen; and citizens of the other, to boast themselves of the national strictness, with all its formality and hollowness and pretence; thus complicat-

ing and concealing the real merits of the subject, as a question of scripture doctrine and institution. But the Christian Sabbath, it should be remembered, is no national institute, dependent for its observance on certain national tastes and habits. Like the gospel, of which it is a characteristic institute, it is 'for man' universally, and will suit the meridian of Paris as much as that of Edinburgh; can be celebrated amid the refinement of France, with as genuine devotion and scriptural exactness, as in the wilds of Caffraria, and the mountain retreats of oppressed and tortured Tahiti. This talk about the national habits of the Scotch, is an offensive excrescence upon a great scriptural argument.

II. Another most unhappy feature in the recent discussion, has been the confounding of the obligation of the Christian Sabbath as a law of God, with the political arrangements which may be made for its observance by the nation.

The grand excess and error in the entire history of Sabbath-observance in Scotland, has been the assumed right on the part of the civil government, to enjoin the national observance of the Sabbath. It is part of the national constitution. The Scottish people have this idea so deeply rooted in their mind, that they can scarcely recognize the general and voluntary observance of the Sabbath to be a good over which to rejoice, so long as the day is not uniformly kept, and the profaners of it not restrained by legal penalties.

Now, whatever be the right and duty of civil government in appointing and regulating the observance of a Sabbath, it is not difficult to see that it is a question quite distinct from another and more important one, viz., What is the duty of every man who acknowledges the Scriptures to be the word of God, and professes himself a Christian? It can surely be supposed, that men holding that civil government should enjoin and enforce the observance of the Sabbath as a religious institution; and men, holding that the day should be enforced by the national authorities, merely as a cessation from business, on sanitary, commercial and moral grounds; and men holding that the national authorities should leave the observance of a day of rest to the choice of each individual as he may be actuated by interest, love of life, religion, or other motive—should with all their differences, be perfectly agreed in this; that if any man be a genuine follower of Jesus Christ, *he* must by all means 'Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.' *This is the law of the Sabbath*, viz., the obligation every Christian is under to keep the sacred day. The church of Christ may be placed under a civil government that will do nothing toward the right observance of the Sabbath. Yet the obligation of the Sabbath

is not on this account relaxed, or the spiritual privilege of the Sabbath thereby diminished. The service which Christians are called to render is, duty to God ; the privilege with which they are enriched, is a blessing from God ; and the one is to be rendered and the other to be enjoyed, independently of all human enactments, and even in the face of them, should they contravene the Divine behest. In a word, the observance of the Sabbath as an institute of the Christian religion, is co-extensive with the knowledge and reception of the religion itself.

Again, the church of Christ may be placed, as it is in our own empire, under a civil government disposed to legislate upon the Sabbath, and to take it, and every Christian institution, under its superintendence and control. Is it not equally the duty of Christians, under these circumstances, to refuse direction from such an unauthorised party, and make it evident that the Christian church holds its rights from the King of kings and Lord of lords ; and that Christians cannot homologate any act infringing upon the divine authority, to which alone, in such matters, they own themselves to be subject ? Should not their zeal for the honour of the Sabbath appear in following Jesus Christ's regulations for its observance, and in contravening all others which come into collision with them. Happily, at this moment they are under no such necessity. Government interference does not come into collision with our spiritual convictions. But if it did, the law of the Sabbath would remain in all its integrity, notwithstanding ; and if Christians were faithful to their principles, their observance of it would be unaffected by all such presumptuous interference.

The laws of this country respecting the keeping of the Sabbath, are either obsolete and inoperative, or they fall in with the religious principles and habits of the people, and are therefore not thought of or known. Yet, although on the matter under consideration, we have no grievance to complain of, no requirement to elude, no penalty to fear, no favour to ask at the hands of our rulers, there is no doubt on our minds that it would have been infinitely to their own advantage, and for the honour of the Christian religion, if they had left the Sabbath to rest on its divine authority, and to be advanced without the aid of the secular arm. These laws are durable, only because they are contemptible and forgotten. But the terms in which they are written, the rights they arrogate to earthly rulers, are offensive and blasphemous ; and the penalties they affix, were they inflicted, would be the worst forms of tyranny. The whole system from which this legislation proceeds, is evil. We regard it with undisguised suspicion and dislike, as an attempt to appropriate the prerogatives of the Holy One, and overrule the

dictates of conscience towards God. From the secular authorities we look for protection in our secular estate ; but we shall neither invoke them, nor can we endure them, to use the sanctions of their authority and the resources of their power, in maintaining or inforcing Christian institutions. This would be to misrepresent the character of the Christian religion ; to degrade it to the rank of a merely political machine ; and to put into the hands of the civil magistrate a weapon the most dangerous to human liberty ; and which, more than any other, he is likely to use for oppressive ends.

It may be competent to a civil government to appoint a certain period of rest from all labour and traffic ; to determine that it shall be one day in seven, and that day the *first* of the seven, as being already recognised, and used thus, for religious reasons, by a large portion of the community. But whatever advantages might be expected to flow from such a civil regulation, compliance with it could never be viewed as an observance of the Sabbath. Even if, in addition to such political considerations, its divine institution were adduced to insure its observance, compliance with this regulation, at the instance of the civil government, would still be only a political act, and not an act of religious worship. And should any from spiritual reasons,—‘ from conscience towards God,’ render the observance enjoined, would not the honour of this obedience be profanely divided betwixt the God who had a right to demand it, and the men who have presumptuously pretended to supplement and seal divine authority with *theirs*! It is, therefore, manifest that the Sabbath, as a Christian, spiritual institution, derives no advantage from being enforced by secular authority. Without this accompaniment, its obligation is perfect, and its high claims more distinctly apparent.

For want of such views, compliance with the regulations of the national authorities has been reckoned Sabbath observance. The honour demanded for the Sabbath has consequently been of an external, ritual sort ; and that only has been counted profanation, which infringed upon the established forms and usages. But let the claims of the Sabbath rest on the individual conscience, and the Christian will observe the Sabbath, whether the national authorities favour, oppose, or neglect it. His duty is not derived from them, and is performed without reference to them. It is not as the law of the land—a national usage, an established form of religion, that he observes it, but as part of the worship of Him who seeth in secret, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. But these distinct and dissimilar notions have, in the recent controversy, been mixed up and confounded, to the serious detriment of the claims of the Sabbath as a

spiritual institution. Even when no direct and explicit allusion was made to the civil government, as an enforcing power, there has been, what was quite equivalent, an appeal to the national will, as expressed in its religious habits. The idea of Sabbath observance that has always been uppermost, has been of an outward, general, national compliance with prevailing religious usages. The desirableness of a day of cessation from labour, and the expediency of the civil government appointing such a day, upon grounds on which it is competent to rest its injunctions, we are far from questioning. But we denounce it as a pernicious error, we lament it as an unmixed evil, that this should be attempted under the name of Sabbath observance; and when it is secured to the satisfaction of the national authorities, or of those who consent to their act, that this should be gloried in as an honour done to the Christian Sabbath. Those who spend the first day of the week otherwise than the scripture requires, are undoubtedly profaning the Sabbath; but those who comply either with national usages, enforced by an authoritative public opinion, or enforced by such a public opinion along with the sanctions of civil authority, are not observing the Christian Sabbath. And it is a ruinous confounding of things spiritual and secular, to say they are. This pernicious sentiment has been very active in the recent controversy, in the zeal to secure a certain national uniformity of conduct; and to prevent, if not by force, yet by certain public arrangements, departure from the established national usage. Oh, that Christian men would see, that whatever is gained in outward decency of form and ritual by such means, the influence and claims of the Christian Sabbath as a spiritual institution, are proportionably damaged!

III. Another unhappy feature of this controversy has been, the nature of the practical question from which it originated.

The conduct of the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, in shutting up their line upon Sunday, forms a most ineligible battle-ground on which to maintain the claims of the Christian Sabbath. These respectable gentlemen may be supposed to have reasoned after this manner: We have received our appointment from constituents, whose confidence we possess, whose approval we reckon on, (and have, in the course of this discussion, received). We stand in the position of trustees for the proprietors of this railway—ourselves, during our term of office, being the real proprietors. It is not consistent with our religious principles to traffic on the Sabbath-day. We therefore discontinue this part of our business, as we do every other on the first day of the week. Our predecessors in office acted differently, but we are not bound by their acts. It might be convenient for many of our customers, and profitable to the

concern, were we to traffic as has hitherto been done ; but we must, on higher considerations, ' Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.' That it may sometimes be a work of necessity and mercy to travel on the Sabbath-day, and justifiable to provide the means of travelling, under such circumstances, we do not deny. But we cannot, on account of the rare and incidental exception, set aside the divine rule. And when a case of necessity and mercy is presented to us, we shall judge of it, and act according to our conviction of duty, and the merciful spirit of the Sabbath-day !

If these premises be true, viz., that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was strictly private property, and they the proprietors of it, we see no ground which any have to censure their conduct. Their consistency with their principles is perfect ; their conduct, so far as it goes, such as becomes Christian men.

But their conduct was faulty from defect. Their principles required the abandonment of *all* traffic. Unhappily for their consistency, they only abandoned the carrying of passengers ; while as traders they continued the carrying of the mail. We can conceive of only three grounds on which this apparent inconsistency can be defended with any appearance of reason. First, that they (as the company) were under contract to the government, and had no power or right to violate their engagement. But it may be replied, this contract must soon expire, and if they be true to their principles they will not renew it. But they have not refused the renewal of the contract. We never heard that they intend to do so.

Secondly, It may be argued in defence, that it was a clause in the act of parliament assigning powers to this company, that they should be obliged to carry the mail every day of the week, should the Post Office authorities require them. But does not this defence interfere with the claim to look upon the line as private property ? Parliament made provision for the *national* accommodation ; and seem to have looked upon the railway as, in some sort, a public or national work. But, besides, it was still open to these gentlemen to have moved their constituents to petition parliament to expunge a clause which bound them down to do, what they have declared in the most public and solemn manner, is contrary to their conscience, and an act of sin.

But, thirdly, it may be argued in defence, that parliament will not relax this law, or refrain from requiring the transit of the mail on Sunday ; and, therefore, they have no choice. From this sentiment we enter the most uncompromising dissent, as false and pernicious, and as offering (unwittingly we

are persuaded) a grievous slight and disparagement to the authority of God, and the integrity of Christian institutions. What! Caunot Christian men refrain from doing evil, because a civil government commands them to do it? Must they traffic—profane the Sabbath—do what they declare is contrary to God's will, because secular authorities enjoin it? No choice! Can they not bear the penalty of obeying God rather than men? Can they not show that a conscientious conviction of duty admits of no excuse, and can enter into no compromise? This glaring defect in the consistency of these gentlemen, has not been concealed, but rather exaggerated, by the opponents of their measure; and as it cannot be defended, it renders their conduct a most unfit field for the discussion of the moral obligations of the Sabbath.

A variety of other considerations, of which we shall leave our readers to estimate the worth and weight, operated to inflame a large portion of the public mind against the resolution to which these gentlemen thought it their duty to come.

It was keenly argued, that every railway is held in trust for the public. That if the provisions for the protection of the rights of the public are not very special, it is only because it was supposed, that the interests of the proprietors and the accommodation of the public would be found to harmonize. But of the character of railways as public *national* works, there can, it is alleged, be no question: since parliament claims to examine and judge of their commercial importance, and their prospective benefit to the community, to modify their plans, to limit their financial powers, to fix the rules of their traffic, and to require that the public shall be carried at a certain rate per mile, and in a certain form of carriage, etc.

It was strenuously maintained, that if railway proprietors were not bound to increase the facilities which had been afforded to the public of travelling on Sunday, it was unjust and oppressive to diminish them, or take them entirely away. That as they were now the mail-carriers, and the old mail-coaches were removed, it was only justice to continue to supply to the public those facilities which through the means and for the advantage of railways, had been withdrawn.

Now, whatever were the merits of these arguments, they prevailed in many minds. The moral obligation of the Christian Sabbath was presented to them in a light fitted to prejudice them against the institution; as if it enjoined men to take away from others by the strong hand of power, what they counted, (falsely, perhaps, but still sincerely,) to be prescriptive advantages and rights. They felt that any course of evil which they were pursuing should be exposed to their reason as pernicious;

and that they should not be driven from it, by what they were disposed to call the violence of power. It is easy to see, that the conduct which awakened such sentiments in the breasts of a large portion of the public, was not the most likely to convince, conciliate, and convert the disobedient to the obedience of the just.

Nothing in the recent history of religious controversy has affected us with deeper regret, than that a course of conduct, however sincerely conscientious, and in its spirit and design most Christian, but which is open to such plausible objections, should have been set up by a large portion of the religious community, as the rallying-point for the maintainers of the sanctity and obligation of the Christian Sabbath.

But another and better principled class, true and spiritual advocates of strict Sabbath observance, were led to regret the course of the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, on quite different grounds. Nothing seemed to this class more plain, from scripture, than that the performance of acts of necessity and mercy is part of true Sabbath-observance. Before the railway was opened, many an errand of mercy was performed by means of the conveyances which then existed. They judged that if it be lawful for a Christian under the pressure of certain circumstances to travel, it is lawful for a Christian to provide the means of travelling in these circumstances. Accordingly, they would have been gratified, had duly moderated facilities for travelling on Sunday been afforded on this well grounded and sufficient plea. Nay, they deeply regretted, that an injury was done to the interests of religion; that a misrepresentation was given of the nature of the Sabbath as a divinely merciful institution, when no recognition was taken of the exceptional circumstances, to which the Great Author of the Christian religion himself gave such prominence in his discoursing of the Sabbath-day.

The mouths of these sincere Christians were, in a manner, shut during the controversy. They could not, for the reasons indicated, support the side of the directors. They could not join in the unscrupulous and, on the part of many, anti-Christian opposition to their act. A considerable portion of the best friends of the Sabbath were thus thrown out of the field, because the sanctity of the Sabbath was associated and identified with a certain course of action, which their judgment and conscience assured them was not a true representation and embodiment of its divine claims.

By this somewhat lengthened record of the leading circumstances of a painful controversy, which agitated and, for a time almost entirely engrossed the religious mind of Scotland, we

have intended to show that, amid much discoursing about the Sabbath, the real, scriptural question was obscured by the dust and vapour raised by accidental and irrelevant circumstances in the controversy. But it was the belief of the public, that this great Christian institute was under discussion. Its triumph or defeat was thought to depend on the success or discomfiture of the rival parties in the strife. Heats, prejudices, and misrepresentations abounded on every hand, driving men into various and opposite errors. Many were found asserting, in behalf of the Sabbath, claims over the conduct of a secular community, to be administered and maintained by the civil magistrate, such as belong to a matter of civil police, to a level with which they in their unwitting zeal reduced this divine institution. Others, in their zeal to reject shackles which they plainly saw to be of human fabrication, were apt to put from them the obligations of divine authority. It is high time that the controversy should be conducted on a broader basis, and under more favourable circumstances. We, therefore, hail the issue of this series, as a most timely and apt intervention for the defence and inculcation of this sacred day. The following is the list of the proposed series, additional to the three named at the head of this article:—

IV. The Adaptation of the Sabbath to the Temporal Well-being of Men, and more especially of the Working Classes, with application of the argument to Sabbath Railway Travelling. By Rev. David King, LL.D., United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.

V. The Adaptation of the Sabbath to Man's Intellectual and Moral Nature. By Rev. James Hamilton, B.A., Presbyterian Church of England, London.

VI. The Influence of the Sabbath on Domestic Piety. By Rev. William Glover, A.M., Church of Scotland, Edinburgh.

VII. Biographical Notices on the subject of Sabbath Observance, showing its influence on the piety of individuals. By Rev. John Hannah, D.D., Wesleyan College, Didsbury, near Manchester.

VIII. Indirect Influence of the Sabbath upon the Intelligence, Liberties, Commerce, Trade, Social Order, and General Prosperity of Kingdoms. By Rev. Edward Steane, D.D., Baptist Church, London.

IX. Sin and Evils of Sabbath Mails. By Rev. Andrew Symington, D.D., Reformed Presbyterian Church, Paisley.

X. Other Prevalent Forms of Sabbath Desecration. By Rev. Peter MacOwen, Wesleyan Chapel, Islington, London.

XI. The Blessing Promised on the Sabbath Sanctified, and the Penalty Annexed to the Neglect or Profanation of it. By Rev. Stewart Bates, D.D., Reformed Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.

XII. The First Sabbath after the Creation—after the giving of the Law—after the Resurrection of our Lord. A Sabbath at Sea—a

Sabbath in the Sick-chamber. The Heavenly Sabbath. By Rev. R. W. Hamilton, D.D., LL D., Congregational Church, Leeds.

XIII. The Spirit and Manner in which the Sabbath ought to be Observed. By Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts.

XIV. Concluding Practical Address. By Rev. J. A. James, Congregational Church, Birmingham.

It will be seen that the fourth, by Dr. King, and the ninth, by Dr. Symington, have direct bearing on some of the circumstances referred to in this paper. There is a great array of talent and worth engaged for the production of these popular treatises; and, judging from the specimens before us, they will be worthy of the names which they respectively bear.

In Dr. Wardlaw's we have an abridgment of portion of his valuable work on the Sabbath, containing a thorough establishment of the two main points, expressed in the title.

Mr. Jordan's contains a vast amount of information compressed into small compass, in illustration of his theme.

Mr. Thomson partly travels over the ground occupied in the first tract; and then refutes prevailing fallacies on the moral obligation of the Christian Sabbath, with much candour, ability, and sound argument.

In bringing these observations to a close, we must deprecate any misconception of our spirit and design. Parties whose conduct we have undertaken to review, are actuated, we have every reason to believe, by as pure a zeal for the Sabbath as ourselves. *We* are jealous (perhaps excessively so) of every effort or expedient for its better observance, which is not simply addressed to the reason and conscience of men. *They* may be prepared to admit as aids and additaments certain public arrangements which exert a degree of gentle concussion upon men's minds. *We* glory in the divine preciousness of this day to the soul awakened to the knowledge and experience of spiritual blessings. *They* would somewhat more freely boast themselves of its historic sacredness, as the birthright secured to us by the stedfastness, the sufferings, and blood of an heroic ancestry. Not, however, until the Christian Sabbath be made to rest on its own and only sure basis, as a spiritual, Christian institute: not until it shall be reckoned as the peculiar privilege of Christ's followers; not until they cease even in appearance and indirectly to impose its external observance upon men whose heart is not right with God: not until the followers of Christ are prepared to observe it faithfully, and spiritually, whether it be generally observed or not, whether other men traffic or not, whether others travel or not; not until at all hazards, under all forms of loss and worldly disadvantage, in the face of every temptation and abounding facilities to violate its sanctity, they

will remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy ; not until Christians have learned to do without acts of parliament, have learned to despise them, and indignantly to reject them, as having any part in the maintenance of a Christian and spiritual institution —can justice be done to the Divine claims of the Sabbath : the Christian church acquire any honour in its maintenance : or any fit preparation be made for its general, cordial celebration. Alas ! we are as yet far from this position. There is prevailing an un-Christian propensity to impose by man's authority upon others, what the authority of Christ has imposed upon ourselves : and thus to create a false appearance of Christian obedience and service, where there is nothing of the reality. There is a low-spirited disposition on the part of many Christians, by the aid of worldly enactments which shall bind all, to make their own spiritual obedience as little singular, expensive, and inconvenient as possible. There is a cowardly covering up and concealing of their want of stedfastness and genuine principle, by requiring that the *opportunity* of sinning shall be taken out of the way of all, and thus themselves shall be kept from disobedience and apostacy. This is a mean, decrepit, feeble, paltering form of religion. Its expedients are like itself. It is a religion without substance, without honour, without power. We know of no means so capable of preventing this evil, or of checking its growth, as that the maintenance of Christian doctrines and institutions should be left to those who own and submit to them, without any patronage or aid from the secular power ; and that they should illustrate, commend, and exemplify them by the heavenliness of their spirit and the sanctity of their lives.

ART. IV.—*Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, M.A., Translator of Dante, with His Literary Journal and Letters.* By his Son, the Rev. Henry Cary, M.A., Worcester College, Oxford. 2 vols. London : Moxon. 1847.

THE life of a scholar, sincerely attached to literary pursuits, though free from the anxieties resulting from dependence on them for subsistence, and of an author, who occupied an honorable station among his contemporaries, though he cannot be placed in a very prominent rank ; can scarcely be expected to possess a deep, and general interest. Still, to a

large circle of justly attached friends, such memorials as these volumes contain, are pleasant, nor to the literary world are they without use. We therefore turned over their pages in the hope of finding some characteristics of the literature of a former period, some notices of the writers of that, and of the present day; and some pleasant traits too, of a most amiable man, and refined and elegant scholar, such as was Cary, best known as the admirable translator of 'Dante.'

Henry Francis Cary, the eldest son of Captain Cary, was born at Gibraltar, in 1772. From his earliest years he seems to have been remarkable for a facility of acquiring languages,—having, when only between eight and nine years old, 'attained to a proficiency in Greek and Latin, unusual in so young a child,'—and also, for a most affectionate disposition. After remaining a short time at Rugby and Sutton Coldfield, his scholastic education was finally completed at Birmingham Grammar School. While there, and before he had completed his fifteenth year, young Cary composed and *published* his first poetical effort—an ode addressed to General Elliot, the gallant defender of Gibraltar. This poem seems to have excited some notice. It was lauded in the 'Critical,' at that period the leading review; and, more gratifying still, it was, through the agency of one of his schoolfellows, introduced to the celebrated *coterie*, at Lichfield, where it received the approving smile of 'the muse,' as Mr. Sylvanus Urban, and her lackadaical friends were accustomed to term her, whom the present age simply designates as Anna Seward. An introduction, and an invitation to correspond, swiftly followed; and, as the writer of these memoirs justly says, 'it is not a matter of surprise that a youthful poet should be won over by the blandishments and the praises of one who then occupied a distinguished station in the world of letters.'—such as it was, we add,—so forthwith she gave young Cary 'all the encouragement that her own eminent position enabled her to give,' and kindly superintended both his studies and his poems.

This influence was especially unfortunate in the case of Cary. The texture of his mind and feelings,—indeed, of his whole character, was sufficiently soft and refined, to render the enervating processes of the Lichfield school absolutely injurious. Thus, instead of bracing his powers by familiar converse with our fine elder poets,—to whom, nevertheless, his heart longingly turned,—he was encouraged to write odes and sonnets for insertion in that venerable receptacle of 'gentle dulness,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and induced to submit to have each vigorous expression and word weeded out of his compositions, that they might, forsooth, meet the *gentleel* taste

of 'the muse' and her votaries. We have often wondered how this coterie came to honour even the sun and the moon with their poetical compliments, seeing that they are everyday objects. But the pseudo refinement which went near to place half our vocabulary in an *index expurgatorius*, could still, as is often the case, indulge a sufficient latitude as to opinion. And thus we find the poor lad encouraged to look up to Rousseau as his 'Magnus Apollo,' to admire his *Heloise*, and his *Confessions*, and to exult in 'the congeniality of our minds, particularly in matters of religion!' as he assures 'the muse' in one of his letters. Happily, the moral feeling of young Cary seems to have preserved him from becoming a *practical* admirer of Rousseau's system; and he grew up a decorous and sober young man.

In 1790, Mr. Cary entered a commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, where he pursued his studies unremittingly, and devoted especial attention to Italian literature. In a letter addressed to Miss Seward, as early as 1792, it is interesting to observe with what urgency he advocates Italian poetry, and especially 'the wonders of Dante's *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*.' At the end of his college career, the selection of a profession was placed before him. His own choice was the army,—not from any military taste, says his biographer, but as a way of indulging his taste for travel. The decision of the father, however, pointed to the church; and, after an interval of anxiety, the son consented to put on the trammels of clerical life, and was ordained, and appointed to the vicarage of Abbots-Bromley, in Staffordshire, in 1796.

From this period to 1805, Mr. Cary's years glided on quietly and pleasantly in the society of his wife and family. The extracts from his literary journals prove him to have been a very extensive reader; but it seems strange, to us, how he should have suffered so much time to pass away without engaging in any literary occupation, save a translation of a portion of Dante, which, however, was not printed until the year first mentioned. The following incident is amusing:—

'An old school and college friend, the Rev. Thomas Pye Waters, of whose amiable eccentricities future letters will give a sufficient account, was driven by his necessities to publish a volume of sermons by subscription, but not having energy to write them himself, called on others, and amongst them on Mr. Cary, to contribute from their own original stores. The volume made its appearance in print early in the year 1800; three of the discourses were from my father's pen, viz., one on *Industry*, another on the *Sabbath Day*, and a third on the *Works of Nature*.

'Connected with the first of the three, I remember an amusing in-

cident that occurred many years afterwards, about 1813. The writer of the sermons was then reader at Berkeley Chapel, in London, the pulpit of which was, according to the custom in proprietary chapels, filled on alternate Sundays by two popular preachers. On our return home one Sunday after morning service, the sermon, as often happens, proved the subject of conversation. Mrs. Cary expressed her admiration of the discourse; but her remarks were only answered by a smile, that *subrisus* which Mr. Digby has remarked as so very expressive in his friend's countenance. At length, when pressed for his opinion and the reason of his smiling, he said, 'I was thinking of the clerk's estimate of the different degrees of importance belonging to the preacher and reader respectively.' He then told us an anecdote, of two strange clergymen being expected at a London chapel: when the first arrived, the clerk, who would proportion the quantum of respect to the dignity of the person whom he addressed, inquired, 'Pray, sir, are you the gentleman that preaches or the man that reads prayers?'

'On reaching home, the above volume of Waters's was produced from its resting-place, and the admired sermon of the morning proved to be the one on Industry above mentioned: and an admirable sermon it is, only too didactic, too moral for these times.'—Vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

Notwithstanding the humor of this, we think the Rev. Mr. Waters could scarcely have possessed a very high sense of honor, to receive charitable contributions from his clerical friends, in the shape of sermons, and then pass them off to his subscribers as his own.

Early in 1805, the first volume of Mr. Cary's translation of Dante's 'Inferno' appeared, and it was followed by a second volume in the succeeding year.

'In this edition the original is printed with the translation, a plan which, while it enables the reader to test the fidelity of the English version, at the same time much facilitates the study of the most difficult of Italian authors. There is probably no metrical version in our language of any poet, ancient or modern, which would so well bear, in point of faithfulness, at least, to be thus put side by side with its original.'

'The success of the publication was not at all answerable to its merit; and the translator had to endure the mortification, common to the most gifted authors, of seeing the fruits of many years of toil received with coldness and indifference. In the 'Critical Review,' indeed, favourable notice was taken of the translation; but as the article was written by his friend Price, who had already frequently expressed his commendation of the work, praise from such a quarter could not afford much encouragement; and the circulation was chiefly confined to a small number of personal friends, and perhaps a few Italian scholars. Even his friend, Miss Seward, not content with expressing her dis-

taste for the subject of the poem, charged the translation with obscurity and vulgarism.'—Ib. pp. 226, 227.

This was, however, no more than might have been expected; the 'muse,' who pertinaciously placed Ossian above Chaucer and Spenser, was little likely to appreciate the stern dignity and force of the bard who made—

"Both heaven and hell copartners in his toil;"

nor the fine nervous English, in which his translator so appropriately clothed his style. A long finical letter, pointing out all its sins against genteel phraseology, was the result; and we can scarcely blame the biographer for bestowing paper and print upon it, since it produced a most admirable reply, which is also inserted.

In the year 1807, Mr. Cary sustained a severe blow in the death of his youngest daughter. 'Mind and body fell prostrate,' and it was not until after an interval of four years that he was able to continue his literary journal, and complete his translation of Dante, which he began fifteen years before. This literary journal, which is inserted in full in the work before us, presents a very miscellaneous course of reading; indeed, we are inclined to consider it far too desultory to have been greatly beneficial. Thus, although for amusement's sake, we might allow the relaxation of a 'novel by Charlotte Smith,' or 'the last new poem;' still we are at a loss to conceive of a course of study in which Herodotus alternated with Moliere and Dante; Cicero with Clarendon; or Burnet with Marino and Froissart. After all, we incline to think 'retired leisure' scarcely so advantageous to the literary man, as that stern necessity which *compels* him to pursue the path which his genius has marked out for him.

In the year 1808, while still suffering from his loss, Mr. Cary removed from the country with his family, and some time after became reader at Berkeley Chapel. In the spring of 1813, he resigned this office, and prepared for the publication of his long delayed work.

'His translation of Dante,' as his Journal informs us, 'had been completed on the 8th of May, 1812; the intermediate period was almost entirely occupied in appending notes to it. Nearly eight years had elapsed since the publication of his version of the Inferno: but the work had attracted very little notice, by no means sufficient to induce a publisher to embark in the expense of printing the whole. My father, therefore, though his means would ill afford such an undertaking, resolved on publishing his translation at his own expense; but, from the same cause, was under the necessity of having it printed

in a cheap form, one little calculated to attract the notice of critics or the public. The whole was completed in December of this year, 1813, and in its title-page purports to be 'printed for the author, by J. Barfield, 1814.' —Ib. pp. 277, 278.

The price was exceedingly low for the period,—only twelve shillings for the three volumes; but the sale lagged heavily. Ere long, however, the death of his only surviving daughter, a young lady of great promise, who had only attained her sixteenth year, cast a blight over his prospects, which the most signal literary success would have been inadequate to remove. The subjoined sonnet, composed a few months after her decease, pathetically exhibits the depth of his sorrow :

' SONNET ON THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER.

' Thrice has the dart of death my peace bereaved ;
 First, gentle mother, when it laid thee low,
 Then was my morn of life o'ercast with woe,
 And oft through youth the lonely sigh was heaved.
 But in a child I thought thou wert retrieved ;
 She loved me well, nor from my side would go
 Through fields by summer scorched or wintry snow :
 How o'er that little bier at noon I grieved !
 Last when as time has touched my locks with white,
 Another now had learnt to shed fresh balm
 Into the wounds, and with a daughter's name
 Was as a seraph near me, to delight
 Restoring me by wisdom's holy calm.
 Oh, death ! I pray thee next a kinder aim.' —Vol. ii. p. 6.

The following year, while with his family at Littlehampton, 'one of the most important incidents' of Mr. Cary's life occurred,—his becoming acquainted with Coleridge :

' Several hours of each day were spent by Mr. Cary in reading the classics with the writer of this memoir, who was then only thirteen years of age. After a morning of toil over Greek and Latin composition, it was our custom to walk on the sands and read Homer aloud ; a practice adopted partly for the sake of the sea-breezes, and not a little, I believe, in order that the pupil might learn to read *ore rotundo*, having to raise his voice above the noise of the sea that was breaking at our feet. For several consecutive days Coleridge crossed us in our walk. The sound of the Greek, and especially the expressive countenance of the tutor, attracted his notice ; so, one day, as we met, he placed himself directly in my father's way, and thus accosted him : ' Sir, yours is a face I *should* know : I am Samuel Taylor Coleridge.' His person was not unknown to my father, who had already pointed him out to me as the great genius of our age and country.

' Our volume of Homer was shut up ; but as it was ever Coleridge's custom to speak, it could not be called talking or conversing, on the

subject that first offered itself, whatever it might be ; the deep mysteries of the blind bard engaged our attention during the remainder of a long walk. I was too young at that time to carry away with me any but a very vague impression of his wondrous speech. All that I remember is, that I felt as one from whose eyes the scales were just removed, who could discern and enjoy the light, but had not strength of vision to bear its fulness. Till that day I had regarded Homer as merely a book in which boys were to learn Greek ; the description of a single combat had occasionally power to interest me ; but from this time, I was ever looking for pictures in the poem, endeavouring to realise them to my mind's eye, and especially to trace out virtues and vices as personified in the heroes and deities of the Homeric drama.

' The close of our walk found Coleridge at our family dinner table. Amongst other topics of conversation, Dante's ' divine ' poem was mentioned. Coleridge had never heard of my father's translation, but took a copy home with him that night. On the following day, when the two friends (for so they may from the first day of their meeting be called), met for the purpose of taking their daily stroll, Coleridge was able to recite whole pages of the version of Dante, and, though he had not the original with him, repeated passages of that also, and commented on the translation. Before leaving Littlehampton, he expressed his determination to bring the version of Dante into public notice ; and this, more than any other single person, he had the means of doing in his course of lectures delivered in London during the winter months.'—Ib. pp. 18, 19.

Coleridge amply fulfilled his promise : his tenth lecture being on Dante, he took occasion to notice Mr. Cary's translation ; and so persuasively did that ' old man eloquent ' recommend it, that after having remained a dead weight on the bookseller's shelves for four years, it was eagerly sought after ; a thousand copies were immediately disposed of, and a new edition called for.

The fame of Mr. Cary was at length established ; and soon after we find him applied to, to edit a quarterly magazine. This plan was not proceeded with ; but, on the appearance of the ' London Magazine,' he became a regular contributor, and also, through it, acquainted with the most popular literary men of the day. Here is a glimpse of one of the ' Magazine dinners,' as they were called :

' At the first of these Magazine dinners, as they were called, held at Mr. Cary's own house, I remember that, among others, Lamb, Kelley the farce-writer, and Clare were present. The conversation, which never flagged, consisted of a strange mixture of learning, wit, and puns, bad and good. The graver talk of the more serious guests was constantly interrupted by the sportive and light jests of Kelley, or a palpable and, to all appearance, school-boy pun of Lamb's ; which,

however, was frequently pregnant with a deep meaning not at first observable. At times, the light artillery of the punsters got the better of the heavier ordnance, and all gave in to the joyousness of the moment. Among the rest, I remember that a quotation from one of our elder dramatists provoked a round of puns on the names of various herbs; the last two introduced had been 'mint and anise,' when Lamb sputtered out, 'Now, Cary, it's your turn.' 'It's *coming*,' was the prompt rejoinder. 'Then I won't make another pun to-day,' stammered Lamb.

'To a looker-on, as I was, the most interesting of the party was the peasant Clare. He was dressed in a labourer's holiday suit. The punsters evidently alarmed him; but he listened with the deepest attention to his host. With the cheese had been placed on the table a jug of prime ale, imported for the especial use of Clare. As the servant was removing the glasses, Clare followed him with his eye, let his own glass go without a sign of displeasure; but when the jug was about to follow, it was more than he could bear, and he stretched out both his hands to stop it: the tankard was enough for him—he could dispense with the refinement of a glass.'—Ib. pp. 94, 95.

It was in the 'London Magazine' that the short lives of the later English poets, and those delightful notices with extracts, of the French poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appeared, in addition to many lighter compositions. He also, about this time, translated the 'Birds' of Aristophanes, which was published in 1824. In June, 1826, Mr. Cary received an appointment, for which, of all others, he was best qualified, that of assistant keeper of the printed books in the British Museum; and here he continued, pleasantly turning over many a curious volume, and in the society of his literary friends, the chief of whom were Lamb and Coleridge, until the close of 1832, which saw the publication of his translation of 'Pindar,' and the severest trial which could possibly befall him,—the death of his affectionate wife.

The first effect of this melancholy blow 'was apparently a stunning of all sensation,' which, after a few days, was succeeded by 'a look of mere childishness, almost approaching to a suspension of vitality.' Delirium subsequently came on, and change of air and scene being recommended by his medical attendants, the trustees of the Museum gave him six months' leave of absence, which was employed in a journey to Rome and Naples, returning by the Rhine and through Holland. During this journey, the memoranda of which are given, Mr. Cary, notwithstanding his heavy affliction, was not unmindful of his duties at the Museum, for we repeatedly find notices of curious works, chiefly Italian, inserted with the added query, 'Are these in the British Museum?' On his return, he resumed the duties of his office, sustaining, however, in the autumn of 1834, another

trial in the death of his friend and companion, Charles Lamb. The lines written by him on receiving back a volume which Lamb had borrowed, with the leaf folded down at the account of Sir Philip Sidney, are very graceful and feeling; but surely a less sceptical allusion to another world would have been more appropriate in verses which celebrated Sidney—a poet and a scholar indeed, but who deemed it his highest honor to be a Christian.

In the spring of 1837, the resignation of Mr. Baber, chief keeper of the printed books in the British Museum, took place, and Mr. Cary naturally expected to succeed to the vacant office. To the surprise, however, of himself and his friends—indeed, of the whole literary world—Mr. Panizzi, his subordinate, was appointed. An indignant letter to the Lord Chancellor, to whose agency it was tolerably well understood Mr. Panizzi owed his appointment, was the first notice taken of this unjust proceeding by Mr. Cary. But the appointment was made; and the strangely wayward, and capricious, though gifted man, who then held the office of Lord Chancellor, with that pertinacity which he so frequently displayed, though, alas! seldom in a worthy cause, refused either to assign a reason for his conduct or to answer Mr. Cary's repeated letters. The circumstance that Mr. Cary's liberal politics had been a bar to his advancement in the church, might, we should have thought, have pleaded with Henry Brougham in his favor; but the Italian *protege* was the last new favourite, and we need not remark how commanding an influence the *last new* anything exercises over his mind. At the distance of ten years from this angrily agitated question, we may be allowed to say, that the advantages of Mr. Panizzi's appointment, so ostentatiously insisted upon, are as problematical as ever. The benefits which he was to confer on the world of letters are as yet unknown; while the advantages, which the students in the reading room were to derive from his superintendence, are quite as much so. The catalogue has not yet reached D; so that, unless Mr. Panizzi's life is lengthened out to more than a double span, he will never behold the completion—not of a classed catalogue, that most valuable boon to the many laborious readers to whom time is wealth—but one which merely places books of all sorts and sizes in alphabetical order. The appointments at this great national institution have, indeed, been proofs of the mischief of irresponsible management. Public opinion has, however, spoken of late with a loud voice, and in later instances we perceive that voice has been listened to.

On Mr. Cary's indignant resignation, he 'recurred to a plan which he had entertained many years before, of writing a history

of Italian poetry from the earliest period.' This task, for which of all others he was best suited, was, however, laid aside, its extent being too great to afford a prospect of completion in the lifetime of a writer already arrived at the age of sixty-five. He accordingly entered into an engagement with Mr. Smith, the publisher, to edit a series of English poets in a cheap form.

' This may seem a very trifling employment for one capable of so much; but he was able to bring to his task an accuracy of taste and a degree of critical acumen which could be surpassed by few; and I have little doubt that if the pains he took with his authors, and the uniform system he has followed with them, were generally known, future editors of the same authors would not hesitate to adopt his text for future editions of the same works. His plan was to make use of that text which had received the author's own last revision, and on no account to restore older readings which the author had himself rejected, nor adopt the (so-called) emendations of subsequent editors. Added to this, he observed one uniform system of spelling, except the metre or rhyme obviously required a different mode. The most remarkable of his rules was this, that in the past tenses of verbs the final *e*, where the present tense ends in *e*, should never be cut off, but should be so where the verb in its present tense ended with a consonant, and the last syllable was not separately pronounced; a rule which, if I mistake not, Cowper had before observed.

' To the poems of each writer he prefixed a short life. In this series he edited the poetical works of Milton, Dryden, Pope, Young, Thomson, and Cowper. The continuation of the work was interrupted by want of sufficient encouragement.'—Ib. pp. 290, 291.

In 1841, after many ineffectual attempts of his friends, among whom Mr. Rogers was honorably distinguished, to procure him some situation or pension, Mr. Cary was at length placed by Lord Melbourne on the pension list, for £200 per annum. This, in addition to the property inherited from his father, rendered his circumstances comfortable for the short remainder of his days, which he divided between visits to his son at Oxford, to the sea-side, and in the pursuits of literature.

His visit to Sandgate in 1843 was his last. He returned to town, continued tolerably well during the winter and spring, but died on the 14th of August, 1844, after a very short illness. From any remarks on Mr. Cary in his ministerial character we purposely abstain, since what we consider wrong we must attribute to the system, as indeed inseparable from a church establishment. Our task has been with Mr. Cary, the scholar, the gentleman, and the poet, whose original compositions were always characterized by much grace and sweetness, and whose translations are almost unrivalled for clearness and spirit.

ART. V.—*The Image Worship of the Church of Rome proved to be contrary to Holy Scripture and the Faith and Discipline of the Primitive Church.* By J. Endell Tyler, B.D. London: Rivington. 1847.

To one who has studied the Bible and read the records of the primitive church, there is no anomaly in the history of mankind more strange than the pretension of Romanism to identify itself with Christianity. We were going to say, that by a sort of transmigration of souls and of gods, the whole *dramatis personæ* of Olympus passed over to the church, and thenceforth existed under Christian forms. But this would not be correct; the forms as well as the divinities were pagan. The change was merely one of nomenclature. By the spurious Christianity of the dark ages, paganism was not exterminated, but incorporated. The result was a hybrid system, as different from the gospel as possible. Had the Christian teachers retained their integrity, and been faithful stewards of the truth, instead of well-meaning traitors, admitting an irreconcileable enemy into the house of God, and fancying he was converted into a friend by changing his name and his garb,—the world would have been conquered by the church. But so thoroughly was she invaded, so basely did she surrender, so servilely did she bow to the yoke, that the thing which she called orthodoxy became the antithesis of Christianity; and she was obliged to denounce truth as heresy, in order to cover the guilt of her departure from the faith.

The author of the work now under our notice, has published two other highly useful volumes. The first on the *Primitive Worship of the Church of Christ*, and the second on *The Romish Worship of the Virgin Mary*. The three volumes form an excellent history of the apostacy on the subjects to which they relate. They abound in indubitable facts, clear statements, and sound arguments; and though the author is a strict and even a high churchman, he is a sound protestant, and writes in a very temperate spirit. It is impossible for any mind with the least candour to resist the evidence which he adduces against the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome. It is a good idea to fix upon a particular subject, such as the worship of the Virgin Mary, or the worship of images, and, in connexion with it, to trace the progress of innovation and corruption from the earliest times. This unity of object makes a more distinct impression upon the reader's mind; and when the history of a great popular error is fairly and candidly written by one to whom the facts of the case are well known, conviction is more likely to be carried to the conscience, than by an abstract argu-

ment. We believe Mr. Tyler was led to write these works in order to guard his church against the insidious encroachments of Romanism, under the guise of Tractarianism. The Puseyites have evinced a dangerous hankering after Mariolatry and image worship. They have furnished some of the most beautiful hymns extant in honour of the Virgin ; and not a few of them have shown a strong disposition to beguile their congregations into the still more stupid idolatry of image worship. We hope, therefore, these works will have a large circulation among churchmen. The two former volumes were published by the *Christian Knowledge Society* ; why they have not also adopted this one, we do not know. We hope it is not because one of the general councils of the united church of east and west is therein convicted of the grossest ignorance, superstition, fraud, and intolerance.

When we hear learned and influential advocates of Romanism defending their doctrines, and trying to explain them away, in order to obviate the charges of protestants, and to accommodate the system to the meridian and the time, we are conscious of a painful feeling of perplexity. Do these men really hold the doctrines which they solemnly deny ? Or do they see no harm in a wilful misstatement of well known facts ? Bishops Baines and Wiseman have given astounding instances of this bad faith, in regard to the present subject. But we reserve their statements till we shall have briefly sketched the rise and progress of image worship, and ascertained, beyond doubt, what is the doctrine to which these doctors were sworn.

Nothing can be more decisive and emphatic than the condemnation of all religious use of images in the Old Testament. An attempt is made to evade the force of the second commandment, by alleging that it forbids only the making of idols in opposition to Jehovah ; and that according to a stupid distinction made by the second Council of Nice, the prohibition refers not to the 'worship' of the body, but the 'service' of the soul. But these men were wilfully deaf to the law of the Lord. 'Take ye, therefore, good heed to yourselves,' says Moses ; 'for ye saw *no manner of similitude* on the day when the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire ; lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female,' Deut. iv. 15, 16.

Pope Gregory II. represents David as bringing the brazen serpent, with the holy ark, into the temple, which was not built till after that king's death. This serpent, like the cross, was the symbol of a great deliverance ; but instead of stirring up the people's minds, by way of remembrance, it became, like the cross, an object of worship. The children of Israel burned in-

cense to it. Therefore, in breaking it to pieces, Hezekiah did what was 'right in the sight of the Lord.' If Roman catholics went and did likewise, what cartloads of holy lumber would be borne out of their churches !

Bellarmino and others contend that the cherubim were placed over the mercy seat to be worshipped by the people. But they forget that they were in the most holy place, which the people never entered ; and that there is no record of their having ever been worshipped. If they were, we may be sure they would have shared the fate of the brazen serpent or the golden calf. They also assert that Jacob worshipped the top of Joseph's staff, resting an argument on a mistranslation, which if correct, would only prove that Jacob did civil homage to his son's sceptre, according to the dream. This is the sense in which Chrysostom understood the passage. But the reading varies according to the different Hebrew pointing ; and it is difficult to decide whether we should say he worshipped, 'leaning upon the top of his staff,' or 'towards the head of the bed ;' in either case, God must have been the object of his grateful adoration. This St. Augustine distinctly asserts.

If no images were allowed in the symbolic and ceremonial worship of the old dispensation, of course we need not expect them under the New Testament economy, when the true worshippers were to worship the Father in spirit and in truth. As little trace do we find of the practice in the primitive churches for several centuries, during which the Christian pastors anxiously laboured to preserve their worship from the least mixture of pagan impurity ;—no easy task, when we consider the propensity of the corrupt and ignorant mind of man to worship what is visible, and to be the slave of his senses, even in things that are least earthly in their nature.

The history of the first five centuries of the Christian era, is marked by a total absence of any intimation that pictures or statues were admitted into the churches as objects of worship. The worship paid to images by the heathen is everywhere condemned in language so unreserved and so universally comprehensive, and with such illustrations and reasonings, as must have required exceptions and distinctions to be made, if there were *any* religious use of images recognised as allowable. The style of the early fathers on this subject is utterly incompatible with the existence in their churches of the images of our Saviour or the Virgin Mary. If there were any such, the heathen assailants of Christianity would have retorted, and said : 'Physician, heal thyself.' And, moreover, so soon as images began to appear in churches, they were strongly condemned by the highest authorities of the time. The only images of the invisible God which these men

acknowledged, were Jesus Christ, and the renewed soul of man. The Carpocratian heretics were the first to introduce the image of Christ as an object of worship; having set it up with the images of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and others.

The *rationale* of image worship is well expressed by Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 180), as follows: 'Moses, long before, had expressly enacted that no statue or image must be made, either graven or molten, or of clay, or painted, that we might not give ourselves to objects of sense, but pass on to objects to be contemplated by the mind. For the familiarity of sight, always at hand, lessens the majesty of God, and makes it cheap; and to worship the intellectual essence through matter, is to dishonour it through sense,'—Strom. lib. v. cap. vi.

Origen, and other fathers, who flourished about his time, in exposing and ridiculing the folly of image worship among the heathen, addressed to them, just such arguments as protestants do now to Roman catholics; for it is evident that the heathens defended their practice on exactly the same grounds as their modern imitators:

'What sensible person,' demands Origen, 'would not laugh at a man, who after such and so many dissertations on God or gods, looks to images, and either offers up his prayers to them, *or beholding them, refers it to the Being* contemplated in his mind, to whom he fancies that he ought to ascend, from that which is seen, and which is the symbol of him.'—'But the Christian, even the unlearned, is persuaded that every place of the world is a part of the whole, the whole world being God's temple; and in every place praying, closing the eyes of sense, and lifting up those of the soul, mounts up beyond the whole world, and does not stop even at the arch of heaven, but in his soul rising into the place above the heavens, led by the Spirit of God, and being as it were beyond the world, sends up his prayers to God.'—Cont. Cels. lib. vii. cap. 44.

How applicable is the irony of Arnobius to the subterfuge of Roman catholics, who say as the heathen did—'We worship not the image, but that which it represents.' He represents them as objecting thus:—

'You are mistaken, and are in error; for we do not consider materials of brass or silver or gold, or other things of which the statues are made to be *of themselves* gods or sacred divinities, but in these materials we worship and venerate those gods whom the holy dedication brings in, and causes to dwell in the images wrought by the craftsman. No bad or contemptible reason why any one, whether dull or most wise, could believe that the gods, leaving their own abode, that is, heaven, do not refuse or avoid to enter into little earthly habitations! Nay, moreover, that by the rite of dedication,

they are compelled to acquiesce in an union with images! Do your gods take up their abodes in gypsum and tiles—nay, are your gods the minds, spirits, and souls of tiles and gypsum? and do they, in order that the vilest things may become more sacred, suffer themselves to be shut up, and lie hidden within the restraint of an obscure dwelling?"

When we read the following passage, we are irresistibly led to think of the thousands of miraculous images of the Virgin Mary throughout the world. 'Let us suppose that there are ten thousand images of Vulcan in the whole world. Is it competent for one person to be in those ten thousand at one time?' (p. 137.)

In the same manner reasoned all the Fathers, down to the sixth century. Towards the end of the fifth, Pope Leo held similar language, condemning the folly of those who imagined God could be worshipped through any object of sense. But it was difficult to keep ill-instructed converts from bringing their heathenish superstitions into the church with them. Tutelary and household gods, seemed necessary to their peace. Their propensities were favoured by the practice which began to gain ground early, of introducing the statues and pictures of martyrs, and other distinguished men, into the places of worship. These objects were admired, then venerated, then adored, with the sanction of the authorities, just as they are by the more or less intelligent of the people now.

The abuse had become so gross at Marseilles, that Selenus, the intelligent and zealous bishop of that place, had the images all taken out of the churches, and destroyed. On this account, as we learn from Pope Gregory's 'Letters,' the flock was scattered abroad, the idolators walked no more with him. Gregory praised him for having forbidden the images to be worshipped; but blamed his 'indiscreet zeal' in breaking them. He said they should have been removed with 'due veneration.' They had come, it seems, to be regarded as 'the books of the ignorant.'

'You must,' writes Gregory (A.D. 600), 'call together the dispersed sons of the church, and show them, by proofs of Holy Scripture, that it is unlawful for anything made with hands to be worshipped; since it is written, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.' And then you must add, that the paintings of images were formed for the edification of the unlearned, that being ignorant of letters, they might by seeing the story, learn what has been done; and that because you saw it passed into worship, you were moved to order the images to be broken. . . . And if any one desires to have images, by no means forbid him; but by all means forbid images to be worshipped.'—Lib. xi. Ep. 13, p. 1099.

The letters of this pope show, that corruption had made great progress among professing Christians at this time. He was so intent on magnifying his office, and in enlarging his power, that he gladly availed himself of every weakness and error of the human mind to promote this object. He was the patron of superstitions and prodigies of all kinds. His 'Sacred Keys from the body of the holy apostle St. Peter, wont to shine forth with many miracles upon the sick,' were sent as presents to all those who could aid him in the establishment of his supremacy. The evil gained ground fast. Pagan corruption rushed into the sanctuary like a torrent. Celebrated images enriched rapidly the churches and monasteries where they were enshrined. False miracles were invented with an industry which surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the father of lies. Mahometans were scandalized, heathens jeered in triumph. About the year 730, the Emperor Leo III. published an edict against image-worship, and used the power of the sword for its abolition. This led to the most disastrous consequences. The popes inflamed the popular resentment; the people renounced their allegiance, and trampled on the statues of their sovereign.

His son Constantine carried on the work with equal zeal, but more moderation. He called a council of Eastern bishops, who, to the number of three hundred and thirty-eight, assembled in Constantinople. They with one voice decreed, that 'every image, of whatever materials made, by the evil art of painters, is to be cast away from the church as strange and abominable.'

Leo IV. followed in the steps of his father, notwithstanding the violent opposition of many of his bishops. He was supposed to have been carried off by poison, to clear the throne for his wife Irene, who was a sovereign after the pope's heart, with whom she entered into a close alliance. The result was, the summoning of the second council of Nice, as ignorant and bigotted an assembly as ever misnamed itself a council. There new and old Rome laid aside their jealousies, and combined against the truth. There was no discussion allowed. Those bishops who had opposed the worship of images, were obliged to purge themselves from the guilt of heresy by a solemn recantation, before they were allowed to take their seats. Authorities, on the other side, such as Eusebius, were mentioned only to be repudiated and cursed. After quoting a number of spurious passages from the alleged writings of the Fathers, and a number of imaginary miracles wrought by images—some of them too ridiculous for a child to believe—the wily representatives of the pope, resolving to commit the Orientals irretrievably, suggested

that an image should be set up and adored by the whole council, which was done accordingly.

The decrees of this assembly met with great opposition in the West, especially in England and France. But the tide of error rolled on resistless. It was an age of profound ignorance and barbarism. The papal power was predominant, and an idol-worship as gross as ever defiled pagan lands, overspread the face of Christendom.

We shall conclude by extracting a few authorities, to show the course of error on this subject,—what the real doctrine of the church of Rome is, and what its modern advocates would falsely represent it to be, in spite of the evidence of our senses, which in all Roman catholic countries, but too painfully testifies to the pernicious character of the teaching.

The contradictory nature of the authorities will furnish an apt illustration of the *unity* of the church, and the harmony of her doctrines. It is said, indeed, that the use of images is only a matter of discipline. But if so, how did it happen that those who refused to bow down to them were anathematized, and burned as heretics, as they might have been by law in England, before the Reformation?

‘COUNCIL OF ELIBERIS, A.D. 306.

‘‘It is decreed that no images be admitted into churches, lest the object of religious worship come to be painted on the walls.’—Conc. Gen. tom. p. 997.

‘POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 598.

‘‘By all means admit images to be placed in the churches for the edification of the unlearned. But show by proofs of Holy Scripture, that it is unlawful to worship anything made with hands; for it is written, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.’ By all means forbid images to be worshipped.’—Epist. Lib. ix. Ep. vi. vol. ii. p. 930.

‘SECOND NICENE COUNCIL, A.D. 787.

‘‘Anathema to those who quote against the sacred images the words used in Scripture against idols.

‘‘We venerate, worship, and adore the sacred images.

‘‘Let no one be offended by the idea of worship; for it is said, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.’ The expression ‘ONLY’ is applied solely to the second word, ‘serve,’ not to the word ‘worship.’ We may therefore worship the images, provided we do not serve them.

‘‘All persons who profess to honour the sacred images, but refuse to worship them, do dishonour them, and are guilty of hypocrisy.

‘‘But we must not worship the images with *latria*,’—the supreme divine worship due only to God Almighty.’

‘THOMAS AQUINAS, A.D. 1260; BONAVENTURA, A.D. 1270; LYNDWODE, 1425; NACLANTUS, A.D. 1567; DOTTRINA CRISTIANA, A.D. 1837, &c.

‘‘To the image the same worship is due, which is due to the person of which it is the image. The cross and the image of Christ, must be worshipped with the self-same supreme worship, ‘*latria*,’ with which Christ himself is adored.’

‘‘The faithful in the church do not only worship before the image, (as some, for caution-sake, affirm,) but they do worship the image itself, without any conceivable scruple whatever. Nay, they must worship the image with the worship of right due to the prototype or original being. So that, if the original being is to be worshipped with ‘*latria*,’ (supreme divine worship,) the image must also be adored with the same ‘*latria*.’’—See pp. 66, 67, 76, 83.

‘ROMAN RITUAL OF THE PRESENT DAY, A.D. 1847.

‘*Roman Breviary* (Sept. 14th and May 3rd.)

‘Hail! O thou Cross! our only hope! To the pious do thou multiply grace; and for the guilty, blot out their sins.

‘O thou Cross, do thou save the present congregation assembled for thy praise.

‘‘The King is exalted to the sky, while the noble trophy of the Cross is ADORED by all the worshippers of Christ for ever.’

‘*Roman Pontifical* (Rome, 1591, p. 671.)

‘‘LATRIA’ (the supreme divine adoration) ‘is due to the cross.’

‘*Roman Missal* (Antwerp, 1641. p. 201.)

‘‘Adoration of the Cross.’

‘‘The priest at the middle of the altar uncovers the cross, and says, ‘Behold the wood of the cross! Come, let us adore!’ The priest then, kneeling, fixes it in front of the altar, and putting off his shoes, approaches to ADORE the cross, kneeling thrice before he kisses it. Then the clergy, and then the laity, two and two, approach, and kneeling thrice, ADORE the Cross.’’—See pp. 83, 84, 85.

Let the reader compare these authorities past and present, to which all Roman catholic bishops are bound, with the solemn declarations of Drs. Baines and Wiseman, before the protestant people of England, and ask himself, what must be thought of the honesty of such teachers?

‘*Bishop Baines*, 1827.

‘‘Is it possible that any one of you should persuade yourselves, that the most ignorant catholic could be capable of adoring the ivory

image which you see upon that altar? Anathema to the man who gives to an image divine honours, or prays to it.'

• *Dr. Wiseman, 1837.*

“If I stood before the image of any one whom I had loved and had lost, fixed in veneration and affection, no one would surely say that I was superstitious or idolatrous in its regard. SUCH is PRECISELY ALL that the Catholic is taught to believe regarding images or pictures set up in churches.”—Lect. xiii.

ART. VI.—1. *The Address of Sir Henry Pottinger to the Cape Frontier Farmers, on the 12th of July, 1847. Extracts from the Cape Newspapers.*

2. *The Proceedings of the Aborigines Protection Society for 1847.* London: 1847.
3. *The Caffre War. House of Commons' Papers, 1837.*
4. *Caffre Correspondence.* 1847. No. 786.
5. *The 'London Gazette,' 10th September, 1847.*

THE appointment of the successor to Sir Henry Pottinger in the government of the Cape of Good Hope, announced in the 'Gazette' of the 10th of September, carries back the affairs of South Africa exactly to the position in which they stood eleven years ago. This fact is well worth attention, in all its bearings. It is nothing less than the open abandonment of a great endeavour to reconcile the progress of British power with the principles of a humane system, successful as far as that system was fairly carried; and not completely successful, only because it was long ago shaken to its very foundations by the gross neglect of the Colonial Office. It is, moreover, a formal return to the system of simple force and conquest, hitherto always costly and cruel, and often unsuccessful.

This remarkable fact occurs, too, under the colonial ministry of Earl Grey, the warm advocate of African philanthropy, and a speaker at the meetings in favour of the Niger expedition. The humane system thus formally abandoned, originated with a committee of the House of Commons, which devoted three sessions almost exclusively to the consideration of South African, and especially Caffre affairs; and the present Under-

Secretary of State, Mr. Hawes, was a member of that committee, whilst his colleague, Mr. James Stephen, wrote a paper in the 'Edinburgh Review' for January, 1836, to expose the opposite system of violence and conquest in Caffreland.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1837, was Lord Glenelg; but Lord John Russell was a member of the *cabinet* which, after very anxious deliberation, adopted Lord Glenelg's humane and wise views; and among the members of the present cabinet which has deliberately abandoned those views, is Sir G. Grey, a philanthropist, and in 1837 Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Here, then, is a complication of men and measures only to be unravelled by an unsparing scrutiny into both. Fortunately the new Parliament has members eminently qualified by their knowledge of the particular case of the Caffre frontier, and by their general, colonial, and Indian experience, to do parliamentary justice to that case. Mr. Bagshaw, the member for Harwich, Mr. Charles Lushington, and Colonel Thompson, were all upon the aborigines committee of 1835-6-7*; and proper efforts to rouse public attention to the subject cannot fail to secure its full examination in the present session. The famous instance of the Caribbs of St. Vincent's saved by the energy of Granville Sharp from military execution in the last century, shows what one zealous man can affect in the cause of humanity.

In the mean time the history of the subject must be gleaned from the loose details furnished by colonial newspapers, and by a few despatches of 1846 from the late governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, laid before Parliament in the spring, by Earl Grey, who has indiscreetly adopted the practice of his predecessors in keeping Cape affairs, in a great measure, secret.

Sir Henry Pottinger has issued an address, which places the present state of things on the Caffre frontier in a clear light, and sends him to his more tranquil government of Madras, shorn of much of the glory with which he was justly adorned when proceeding last year to the Cape. His glaring errors must be exposed not so much for the sake of his successors, who will respect him as little as he has respected his predecessor, as in order that his rash and unfounded judgment respecting our barbarous neighbours, may be met at once by direct denial and by refutation.

The war begun in April, 1846, *by us*, is still raging on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. Its influence is said to

* The other members of the committee were, Mr. Hindley, Mr. Serjeant Jackson, the late Sir Rufane Donkin, Mr. Handley, Mr. Hawes, Sir George Grey, the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Mr. Johnstone.

have spread as far as the populous tribes at Natal; which remote reaction of frontier disasters is a new event in South African politics. Sir Henry Pottinger, who, after professing, in England, rigorous impartiality between all parties, opened his government with a declaration of hostility, and of almost unprecedented violence against the Caffres, has seen the affairs of the frontiers grow worse and worse during his short command. His first act was followed up by a most imprudent refusal of personal conference with the Caffre chiefs. Ill-planned military expeditions followed; and he is now visiting on those unfortunate men the damage to his own reputation, which he perceives to be irrecoverably lost. The Caffres are neither conciliated nor conquered. The colonists are in despair. Under these circumstances, a body of the latter, in July last, declared to Sir Henry Pottinger their determination to emigrate to the *North East* (the direction of the emigration of many thousands of Cape colonists since 1836), unless their families should be protected.

To this threat, formally conveyed to Sir Henry Pottinger, he has made a very singular reply, of which two versions are published in the newspapers. One version is in these words:—

‘I will never relinquish my trust until I have effectually subjugated the Caffre tribes, and secured the permanent tranquillity of the colony. I am persuaded that Her Majesty’s government still labours under the most erroneous impressions with regard to the great questions at issue, and the true character and conduct of the parties immediately concerned. *I have devoted a large portion of my time to the task of disabusing the home government of those false impressions, and in endeavouring to show that the task imposed upon me is nothing less than the suppression of numerous bands of robbers.*’ When my plans are matured, and the time for action has arrived, the public shall not fail to be apprized thereof.’

Another version of this address is as follows:—

‘The Caffres continued their accustomed depredations, and the settlers were loud in their complaints at the insufficiency of the means of protection which the government afforded them. With reference to this matter several deputations had waited upon Sir. H. Pottinger, which, it appears, were at first unsuccessful in obtaining an interview. One, however, was at length granted, when his excellency excused himself by stating, that such was the press of matters with which he was overwhelmed, that he was frequently compelled to decline the visits even of the Commander of the Forces and the Lieutenant-Governor, though calling on business. Sir Henry’s observations upon this occasion are highly important, as they bring before us at one view the present state of our relations with the Caffre tribes, and *indicate the measures which it is intended to pursue.* He said he could

assure the deputation that no man could have the interest of the frontier more at heart, and could be more laboriously employed for its welfare, than he; and that no individual could tell him more regarding the position of the farmers, their sufferings and losses, than he had already written to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, so that *the voice of the colonists would be heard at home*. Too much was, however, expected from him; and the frontier press had not done him justice. The late affair at Burn's Hill had been magnified and misrepresented. People appeared to think that the name of governor or high commissioner was sufficient to enable one to do anything. It must be clear to every one who had looked into the subject, that he was not dealing with a nation, but with hordes of robbers, and that it was in vain to expect a total cessation of robberies, or permanent peace, *until the Caffres were entirely subdued*. *The chiefs had no power over their followers, except for evil*; and until they were brought to that state of subjugation, that we could punish them immediately upon the commission of any offence, there would be no permanent peace. The Gaika tribes were the worst, and Sandilla the worst of all; the southern tribes were not so bad. He (the high commissioner) could conclude a peace to-morrow, if he chose, but that would not be a peace which would bring permanent security to the frontier. *Expense was no object*; efficiency was what he required, and this he was gradually acquiring; and when all his arrangements were complete, the country would be informed of it. But he had a difficult task, and too much ought not to be expected of him. He must, however, be allowed to do his work in his own way, and according to the means at his disposal. He did not wish to conceal what must be known, that *when Sir Peregrine Maitland left the colony he made it appear that the Caffres were entirely subdued, and that peace would soon follow*. Such, however, was not the case; the Caffres were not yet sufficiently humbled to enable him to establish a satisfactory peace with them. A false step in politics, said his excellency, was as bad as in war; and *had the wiser measures of Sir B. D'Urban not been subverted, the present state of things would, in all probability, never have taken place*, and the force which would now be required to be kept up on the frontier would be much larger than the British government expected. His excellency assured the deputation that he required no urging on; he *felt that his public character was at stake*, and no exertions which he was capable of would be wanting to bring matters to a satisfactory issue. The foregoing observation of Sir Henry Pottinger appears to have given very general satisfaction.'

The dates of Sir Henry Pottinger's declarations betray their rashness. Within a week of his arrival at the Cape, he took the side of those of his predecessors, whom Parliament had already condemned; and pronounced, off-hand, the Caffres to be 'irreclaimable,' a term well known to Cape history, whenever the frontier tribes were to be encroached on by the local government. Thus this new governor, who had in En-

gland ostentatiously professed to be ignorant of that Cape history, nevertheless ventured to settle one of its most controverted points, without having enjoyed on the spot the easy means of knowing personally the leaders of the tribes on which we have made war, and even without seeing the several experienced men of different opinions, who for more than thirty years have been familiar with Cape-border affairs. He has now ended by recommending the revival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's vain attempt of 1836, to rule the Caffres by force, an attempt founded on the assertion so adopted by Sir Henry Pottinger. To justify this recommendation he declares, contrary to the best recent evidence, that 'the Caffre chiefs have no power over their followers except for evil.' The testimony of Sir Peregrine Maitland, given at the very moment he made war against the Caffres, and so given under circumstances which relieve it from all suspicion of partiality, is a complete negative to this declaration. In Sir Peregrine's manifesto of war, he expressly stated that the Caffre chiefs had readily agreed to prevent all plunder by seconding his measures to that end; and that they long faithfully kept their engagement. It was only, he adds, when the police, which *we* were pledged to keep up, was withdrawn from the frontier, that Caffre marauding revived. He withdrew the troops from the Caffre frontier, because they were wanted to quell disturbances made by white men to the north-east, long, even more grossly neglected than that frontier by the Colonial Office. The best hopes of African civilization ever conceived, and the wisest measures for its advancement ever planned, have been disappointed in that quarter through official ignorance in Downing-street.

A volume might be written to the same effect. The Caffres, both chiefs and people, do not differ from other pastoral barbarians eager for progress. A civilized neighbour should encourage their virtues by a humane and vigorous policy, and not aggravate their vices by alternate feebleness and brutal violence.

The measures of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, cited and approved by Sir Henry Pottinger, were measures of vindictive conquest, holding out the miracle of rapid civilization in return for enormous oppression. These measures were reversed by the home government as both unwise and unjust, being calculated to occasion great expense to the British treasury, as well as to rouse the angry passions of the Caffres. They had already led to new and dangerous border outbreaks, when the restoration of their country to the Caffres secured nine years of peace to the colony. This act was the result of grave deliberation. The subject was examined with much care by a committee of the House of Commons and by *the Cabinet*. Such a restoration of a

conquest was perhaps unprecedented in colonial history. The usual course had been, for the home government to express strong disapproval of colonial aggressions on our barbarous neighbours, but to keep the lands which had been unjustly seized. Whether the border-system acted thereupon for nine years, was not too complex, may be doubted. The Caffres, however, are not to be charged with an obstinate adherence to all its points. On two solemn occasions—first, under Sir George Napier; secondly, under Sir Peregrine Maitland; they deliberately agreed to reasonable changes.

One false principle damaged the benevolent settlement of 1837; namely, the principle of perpetual separation which it involved of the Caffres from the colonists, instead of aiming at their peaceful, political, and social amalgamation. The idea of severing barbarians from any civilized neighbour, in order to protect them from his bad influence, was then carried to a most absurd extent by many. It is the basis of Mr. James Stephen's theory in the 'Edinburgh Review': and it was developed in the following year by the House of Commons so far as to discourage treaties with them. It constituted the main ground of opposition to the systematic civilization of New Zealand in 1838. It was carried to the climax of error in its application to the unhappy Niger expedition. But so mischievous an opinion must have been corrected by the happy results of humane and just policy on the latter frontier, in 1837, if the philanthropists whose efforts had introduced that policy, and the House of Commons which had warmly sanctioned it, had not for nine years abandoned the whole case to the Colonial Office.

Other events in South Africa of immense importance, namely, migrations of the colonists to the amount of ten thousand; their sanguinary wars with native African tribes under the most disastrous circumstances on both sides; the acquisition and settlement of Natal, a colony as extensive and more valuable than Scotland, have meanwhile been going on; and parliament knows less of the matter than of the routine of the military parades in Gibraltar. The inevitable consequence of such indifference is, that the Secretary of State has all this time, also, laboured under most deplorable ignorance on the subject. But to have followed up the parliamentary proceedings of 1835, 1836, and 1837, respecting the Caffre frontier with an utter parliamentary silence until 1847, is an example of bureaucratic daring never equalled. It is only to be accounted for by the experience of impunity; and the same misfeasance of official duty will continue until steps be taken in the new parliament to unrip the past, and to secure future safety by exposing the delinquents.

It was a memorable instance of the effect of parliamentary inattention to great colonial subjects like these, that the late Governor of the Cape, Sir P. Maitland, could not get an answer from the Colonial Office, to his urgent call for counsel upon it. This is a fact which has come out in the last papers laid before parliament. With a proper communication of such intelligence many disclosures might be expected.

Earl Grey was to turn over a new leaf. On the contrary he has at once adopted the rash opinion of Sir H. Pottinger in favour of Sir B. D'Urban's measures of 1835, as with equal precipitation he sanctioned Sir P. Maitland's unjust war of 1846. The appointment of Sir Harry Smith, the successful Indian general, settles that point. He was the lieutenant of Sir B. D'Urban in the execution of those measures; and a semi-official article in the 'Times,' of the 16th of September, opens a train of most painful reflections on this appointment, fully explaining how Earl Grey was induced to make it. The true state of things on the Caffre frontier in 1836 was obviously kept out of his sight; and he shared the ignorance of parliament respecting those things.

'A great nation,' says this article, 'is set at nought by a heathen tribe, alleging for its outrages full justification, and a good cause.'

After anticipating an easy victory over the Caffres, the writer admits, that the more arduous task remains of—

'Mediating between the just claims of the colonists, and the fair rights of a barbarous, but defenceless neighbour, without conceding any thing childishly to *preposterous* sympathy with the propensities of uncivilised natives. A defensible frontier must be had. If it be pleaded—and the plea is plausible—that it would ill become the British nation to proceed on the right of conquest, and to wrest by violence from a barbarous tribe its hereditary or acknowledged possessions, *let adequate compensation be made for any such territorial acquisition as may be deemed necessary for future peace.* The most violent philanthropist would hardly say, that the laws of nature and nations were harshly strained if a civilised people demanded imperatively an effective barrier against an uncivilised and irresponsible neighbour—at some cost to the latter, it might be, but with the best compensation that could be devised for the surrender.'

'If it be true, as alleged on various occasions, that the stern rule of Sir Benjamin D'Urban did not, in reality, secure the property of the colony, or control the expense of the crown more efficiently than the recent alternations of concession and war, such fact can only prove, that the system for controlling the Caffres remains yet to be discovered.'

The writer of these crafty lines then declares without scruple,

that a fearful conflict under Sir Benjamin D'Urban's lieutenant, Sir Harry Smith, ~~MUST~~ be submitted to by us, and by our feebler neighbours, before the nobler works of conciliation and justice, which it is here ventured to talk about, *can be begun!*

But suppose the facts of the case are misrepresented in this statement. Suppose the Caffre frontier to have presented no '*recent alternations of concession and war.*' Suppose the one single concession of 1835 and 1836, under Lord Glenelg, to have produced substantial peace for nine years; and the war of 1846 to have been brought on by a disregard of common prudence in the Colonial Office in Downing-street from 1837 to 1847. Suppose, moreover, that the abandonment of the war now, would secure peace as the abandonment of the conquest of 1836 did. Suppose all these points to be correct to the letter, and capable of being established before a committee of parliament—then a very different conclusion, indeed, must be arrived at than that which justifies Sir H. Smith's new career of Caffre slaughter.

Sir H. Pottinger says he has been busy in preparing for fresh campaigns utterly to subdue the Caffres, without reckoning the cost of human life or of British treasure. His successor is sent out to *begin* by conquering Caffreland at all hazard. Even if he shall succeed, how fearful will the price be! He may fail—a more fearful alternative—which it is far wiser to contemplate than to despise.

Sir H. Pottinger has sadly crowned his career of African error. Before his successor arrives at the Cape, he will have done a large part of that successor's bloody work. On the 26th of August last, he proclaimed Sandilli, a REBEL:—Sandilli, the son and successor of our old ally Gaika, Sir John Barrow's young hero of 1797, and whose *independence* of the crown of England is as clear as the Queen's right to that crown is, whatever questions of war and peace may be opened between us. As, too, the Caffres are a corn-growing, cattle-herding, people, the new doctrine of Lord Stanley and Earl Grey as to our indefeasible title to new countries in a contrary case, does not apply here. The offences imputed to Sandilli are—1. His refusal to deliver up a thief when summoned so to do. 2. Sandilli's refusal to make compensation for excesses he had encouraged. 3. Sandilli's encouraging his followers to repel her Majesty's troops by force of arms. 4. The failure of the commissioner to bring Sandilli to reason. After enumerating these grievances, Sir Henry announces his determination as follows:—

‘Taking it into my deep and lengthened consideration, that such

contumacious and headstrong behaviour cannot be longer overlooked, without endangering the general peace and tranquillity of the whole colony, and particularly both sides of the frontier, by disturbing the system which I have been for months past most anxiously and sedulously endeavouring to introduce and perfect; and, moreover, reflecting that where people dwell (as is the case with some of the colonists and a part of the Gaika Caffre tribes,) on either side of *an imaginary line of demarcation*, it is alone by mutual rigid adherence to their engagements, by the strictest observance of good faith, and by crime being speedily and effectually punished, that the success of the desired system can be possibly secured, or even anticipated, I have determined, in the Queen's name, and in virtue of the powers confided to me as her Majesty's high commissioner, to have recourse to the only method that now remains to call Sandilli to account for his contumacy, and to vindicate the offended dignity and honour of the British government. I do, therefore, hereby proclaim the said Gaika Caffre chief, Sandilli, to be a rebel, and denounce him as no longer under the protection of her Majesty's government, and I do hereby further invite and call on all classes and conditions of persons residing in this colony, to be aiding and abetting in carrying my intended measures against the said rebel chief into effect, by assembling in commandos, to be headed by leaders appointed by themselves, at Shiloh, on the day of the ensuing month of September, and thence to enter, supported by her Majesty's regular troops and the colonial native levies, the country of the said Sandilli. And I do hereby further proclaim and promise as an inducement to all persons to come forward, that all cattle and other booty captured by such commandos, belonging to or found within the country of the said Sandilli, or any others who may take part with him, shall become the *bond fide* property of, and be retained by, the captors, and that no claim shall hereafter be made on the part of the government, or on any other pretence, for an account of, or the restoration or relinquishment of cattle or other property so captured. And I do hereby further proclaim, that all the other Gaika, T'Slambie, and Tambookie Caffre chiefs, the bushman Madoor, and their followers, who have declared their wish and intention to *remain neutral*, and to abide by their engagements during the approaching hostilities, are, and shall be understood and taken to be, under the protection of the Queen of England, so long as they shall act upon and be guided by the above-mentioned declaration; and I do strictly, solemnly, and unqualifiedly, enjoin and command all persons *bearing allegiance* to her Majesty to refrain from molesting such neutral (or friendly) Caffres, and to consider the protection of them and their lives, and property, to be a paramount duty.'

The confusion of Sir H. Pottinger's mind is evident upon the face of this document. The Caffre chiefs, and others, who engage to be *neutral*, are to be respected by those who owe the Queen *allegiance*—foreigner, and subject, being cor-

rectly placed in opposition to each other. But Sandilli, who, of course, is independent like the rest, is to be hunted down as a *rebel*. The temper betrayed by this misapplication of words and things, is shown more strongly by another circumstance calculated to rouse the indignation of all who examine the subject fairly.

Even the most violent advocates of the system of illegal force give up Sir H. Pottinger in respect to it. After adopting his confusion of ideas, and expressing confidence, that the home government will approve of his 'reducing a refractory *subject* of Britain to the domination of law,' the writer quoted* proceeds thus:—

'This is said of the general outline of Sir Henry's policy, for of one part we find it impossible to approve. He has re-established the old 'commando' system, and proclaimed that all cattle and other booty captured by commandos in the country of Sandilli, or his abettors, shall be retained by the captors. This dry land privateering has been found by experience at the Cape to be even more demoralising and mischievous than sea privateering. It converts honest graziers into predatory moss-troopers. Let the property of the insurgent and marauding Caffres be confiscated for the public use of the colony—let the levies be encouraged, by pay and other rewards, to persevere in the dangers of bush warfare—but beware of encouraging, in a bold and thin-sown population, habits of exacting redress by their own hands instead of looking for it to the law and the constituted authorities.'

So Earl Grey and Mr. Hawes, and their score of predecessors, since 1837, have produced this result, by leaving the business of their posts to subordinates, whose sympathies for whites and blacks may be measured by the recklessness with which they abandon the interests of both by turns to 'the chapter of accidents.' Hence the most abominable practices of former days are revived in the Queen's name, although they are too bad for the least scrupulous of our speculators upon colonial government. It is very well for a private gentleman like Mr. Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, to pursue a system of humane policy, the heads of the Colonial Office have not time to attend to the means that would easily extend a like system from Hudson's Bay to Hong-Kong. Consequently, their ignorance, which is shared largely by their subordinates, exposes the British name to dishonour, and the wretched tribes we ought to protect, to every ill to be inflicted by the abuse of power.

This is a state of things which brings home to the Colonial Office the gravest charge.

* 'Daily News,' Nov. 11, 1847.

In 1837, that office received the Caffre frontier from Parliament, full of promise. In 1847, it brings that frontier back to parliament in the depth of misery ; the intermediate time having been spent in utter disregard of prudence respecting the transition—always so full of difficulty—of a barbarous race towards civilization, in intimate relations with a stronger and more advanced people. The two periods 1837 and 1847 present the Colonial Office acting upon two directly contradictory lines of policy. In the midst of the obscurity in which the facts of the case are shrouded, several explanations may be conjectured for this surprising extent of mal-administration.

Earl Grey has done two excellent things as colonial minister. He has reformed and popularized the government of New Zealand ; and, without sacrificing the natives, he has substantially promoted its colonization. Again, he has concurred earnestly, however disjointedly, in the great attempt to abolish convict transportation. But Earl Grey has now passed fifteen months as colonial minister without beginning the general colonial reform expected at his hands, or even cleansing the Colonial Office of its corruptions. The same principles and practices prevail in that office, and are defended by its representative Mr. Hawes, in the House of Commons, as have so long rendered it a common bye-word. It judges, as usual, without hearing complainants, and, therefore, necessarily administers the sworn justice of the crown with iniquity. It treats, as usual, colonial appointments as a 'privilege,' not a duty ; and, therefore, necessarily often sacrifices the public service to the exigencies of party and patronage. It perseveres in the old system of official secrecy, and, therefore, continues gross official neglect and blundering. Hence probably, it is, that Earl Grey, upon South African affairs has adopted the old course of his office. At one time all is philanthropy, when the philanthropists bestir themselves ; at another time all runs as violently the other way, if the philanthropists can but be quieted. Sir Thomas Buxton, backed by public opinion, succeeded, in 1837, in a great act of humanity towards the Caffres. Afterwards Sir Thomas Buxton and his friends were unhappily misled by errors which the Colonial Office had the means of correcting, to waste their strength upon the Niger expedition ; and this office, relieved from the pressure of the philanthropic reformers, resumed its mal-administration,—its gross neglect of the Caffre frontier and of the whole South African interior. This would sufficiently account for the mischief done there.

But, Earl Grey may have been out-voted in the cabinet on this occasion ; although, besides his permitting far too much of the old secrecy in the management of his office, his adoption

of its false doctrine respecting the right of the Aborigines in the soil, exposes his authority on the subject to unpleasant doubt. He has adduced some loose remarks of the late Dr. Arnold in support of the novel position, that if uncivilized people have not *cultivated* the land, they may justly be ejected from their homes at our good pleasure. This is only a copy of a despatch of Lord Stanley reproduced with a literary gloss, as may be seen by reference to the House of Commons' papers for 1845, No. 1, p. 1. The doctrine is, however, directly opposed to our best colonial precedents, and to the opinions of the ablest writers upon natural law. It is the apology of the Colonial Office for the sin of seizing all New Holland without an attempt to do justice to its natives, after having exterminated those of Van Dieman's Land, and reduced those of New South Wales to the most wretched remnant upon earth. Lord Stanley and Earl Grey are deeply responsible as ministers, for having added their weight to an old iniquity on this head.

As to South Africa, the way to better things should be opened by an energetic appeal to the British public on the whole subject. A persevering effort would stay the present headlong course; and through wiser principles realise the prospect of good, for which surely providence must have intended a region abounding in every blessing of climate and soil, and capable of furnishing the safest and surest means of African civilization, under peaceful British supremacy. Plentiful proof exists, that the native tribes are not only grateful for our friendship, and ready to admit our superiority, but that they are also eager to *amalgamate* with our own people, on just terms; whilst their history of a hundred years, familiar to us, demonstrates that if we persevere in ruling them with the bayonet, they will become the robber-tenants of the wilderness, and the avenger of an independence which they only cling to when we do not respect it. To have thrown away the last ten years, which might have been devoted with infinite advantage to their advancement, merits reproof and punishment; but to visit our official misconduct on them by a war of extermination, will exhibit us to the world in the light of ferocious oppressors insensible to reproach, and whom misfortune only checks.

ART. VII.—*Facts from Gweedore, compiled from Notes by Lord George Hill, M.R.I.A., and Illustrated with Engravings.* Dublin: Dixon, Hardy, and Sons. London: Hatchard and Son. 4to. pp. 37.

It is somewhat singular that the two most successful attempts recently made in Ireland to reclaim waste lands, and reform an idle and lawless tenantry, have been on properties in the county of Donegal. The first was by Sir Charles Stile, of which there is an interesting account in Mr. Hall's 'Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 261, and the other forms the subject of the publication at the head of this article. Having recently visited Gweedore, we propose to give our readers some account of the physical and social condition of the district before Lord George Hill purchased the property, the measures adopted to effect his object, and the success which has hitherto attended his efforts.

Many of our readers may never have heard of Gweedore. It is in one of the least known and most remote parts of Ireland, but may be readily found by running the eye along the parallel of 55° north latitude until the island of Arranmore is seen. Gweedore lies a little to the north, partly on the river Claudy, and partly on the one which gives the name to the district. The bay is a fine and safe anchorage, the island of Gola forming a natural breakwater. The whole district is exceedingly wild. Huge masses of granite rise up on all sides. The coast is studded with numerous little islands; and when the winds are high and the sea rough, the scene is very striking. Letterkenny, the nearest town of any importance, is twenty-eight miles distant. The road to Gweedore lies through a lofty mountainous region, and is so solitary that, for ten miles we saw no human habitation, nor any living thing whatever. This mountain road terminates at the head of a deep ravine, at the foot of which lies a beautiful lake, that empties itself into the sea. On the right rises the lofty Arigel, one of the most remarkable mountains in Ireland; on the left, Mr. Russel's beautiful domain skirts the upper edge of the lake, and suddenly bursting on us, after the ride we have described, seemed like an oasis in a desert. Gweedore extends down the flat to the beach on which the wild waves of the Atlantic break and foam.

Before Lord George purchased the property, this road terminated at a spot nine miles off, at a foaming mountain torrent, which it is always dangerous to pass. The tenants occupied on the Rundale system, without any fences and subdivision. Famine and fever were periodical, and the people were wretched. The following facts, taken from a memorial sent to the lord lieutenant

in the year 1837, by the master of the National School of West Tallaghbegley, with the view of drawing the attention of government to the frightful condition of the peasantry, will be read with surprise. The population was about nine thousand, and among the whole there were only one cart, one plough, sixteen harrows, eight saddles, two pillions, eleven bridles, twenty shovels, thirty-two rakes, seven table forks, ninety-three chairs, two hundred and forty-three stools, ten iron grapes, twenty-seven geese, three turkeys, two feather beds, eight chaff ditto, two stables, six cow-houses, one school, a priest, and no other resident gentleman. They had no pigs, clocks, bonnets, boots, fruit-trees, or vegetables of any kind, except potatoes and cabbage. Omitting what was in the school, chapel, priest's house, and police barrack, there were not ten square feet of glass in the whole district. No one of the females had a change of linen, and the majority possessed none at all. Very few of them had a second bed; and in many cases, whole families lay together indiscriminately on the bare ground. They had scarcely any means of harrowing the soil, except by meadow rakes; and some of the farms were so small, that from five to ten of them could be harrowed in one day with one rake. When a harrow *was* used, as they had no harness, *it was tied to the pony's tail!*

Prior to 1838, this wild mountain district was divided into small properties. There was no resident proprietor—rents were nominal,—nor was there any regularity in collecting them. As no accounts were kept, nor receipts given, no one could tell what was due to the proprietors. A fact or two will best illustrate this state of things.

'The agent to one of the proprietors came, on a particular day, a distance of fourteen miles, to receive rents. He was told he must return, as the day was too wet and bad. He did not know what the rain had to do with the matter, until he was informed that he would have to go from house to house, up the mountains, and take whatever the tenants would offer. As to coercing the people, this was never thought of, or the proprietors were afraid to try it. This was once done, and the proprietor had to bring with him the whole Yeomanry corps he commanded, simply to protect his own bailiff.'

p. 10.

The wretched system of Rundale being here in full force, may be thus described:—

'A tenant having any part of a townland, no matter how small, had his proportion in thirty or forty different places, and without fences between them, it being utterly impossible to have any, as the proportions were often so very numerous, and so small, that not

more than half a stone of oats was required to sow one of such divisions.

‘Thus every tenant considers himself entitled to a portion of each various quality of land in his townland. The man who has some good land at one extremity, was sure to have some bad at the other, and a bit of middling in the centre, and bits of other quality in odd corners, each bounded by his neighbour’s property, and without any fence or ditch between them.’

‘Under such circumstances as these, could any one wonder at the desperation of a poor man, who, having his inheritance in *thirty-two different places*, abandoned them in utter despair of ever being able to make them out?’—p. 13.

Subdivision was carried to such an extent, that in one instance, half an acre of land was held by twenty-six people. Trespasses, disputes, fights, and confusion, were the inevitable consequences of this system, which was, moreover, an effectual bar to all improvement. If the state of things was bad without, it was even worse within doors. Their cabins sheltered themselves and their cattle too, and were dark, damp, and dirty. They were cleared out only once a year; some ten to fifteen tons of manure having accumulated in them during that period. The cabins were gathered in clusters, which aggravated every evil, spreading disease wherever it made its periodical appearance among this wretched people.

The system of Rundale was not confined to the land, the very animals are known to have been *quartered* by a similar complex tenure.

‘In an adjacent island, *three* men were concerned in one horse; but the poor brute was rendered useless, as the fourth foot remained unshod, none of them being willing to acknowledge it, and accordingly it became quite lame. There were many intestine rows on the subject; at length, one of the ‘company’ came to the mainland, and called on a magistrate for advice, stating that the animal was entirely useless now, and that he had not only kept up decently his proper hoof, at his own expense, but had shod this *fourth foot twice to boot!* Yet the other two proprietors resolutely refused to shoe more than *their own foot!*’—p. 14.

‘The reputation of the district was such, that strangers from adjoining parishes were afraid to ‘cross the border,’ and gentlemen who were hardy enough to venture to attend a fair, held in the heart of the district, are known to have been afforded an escort of coast-guard as a protection. Such a precaution was deemed expedient, in consequence of two revenue police parties having been recently beaten and disarmed; and upwards of fifty constabulary also repulsed, and forced to give up collecting tithe about the same time (1834).’—p. 19.

Market-towns being at so great a distance, the people had to travel far for any commodity ; and when they did, they usually took some grain to sell, which they disposed of at any rate, rather than return with it. Hence, nearly all the grain was used to make whiskey, which paid a good price, and was a mode of getting a livelihood, congenial to the habits of a people leading an irregular life. Its demoralizing influence on their character was at once fearful and universal.

They are described as naturally a quiet and inoffensive people, when their habits and customs are not interfered with ; fond of their families, kind in their manners, brave and daring in danger, or at the call of humanity in times of peril and distress. Several striking examples are given for which we regret we have no space. Fond of being near each other, they disliked living in detached houses. Great talkers—they would sit up half the night, fuel being cheap and abundant. They seldom went to labor until ten o'clock, after their breakfast. Spring and harvest were the only seasons in which they worked hard ; the rest of the year was passed in idleness. The mental and moral condition of a people living in this manner, must necessarily have been one of the deepest degradation and ignorance.

We have thus sketched the condition of Gweedore, before it was purchased by Lord George Hill. A wilder or more uncultivated region, inhabited by a more ignorant, rude, or degraded tenantry, could not be found, perhaps, in Ireland. If this almost barren waste has been partially reclaimed, and the tenantry improved in every respect ; if comparative comfort and order now prevail, instead of barbarism and misery, then a great problem has been solved, and the possibility of regenerating Ireland is proved. Would that all landed proprietors, in that country, would imitate his lordship's example, and that statesmen would read and study the lesson which his benevolent labours have spread out before their eyes.

But it is time we furnish our readers with 'a brief statement of efforts made on the property, to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the tenantry.'

The first step taken after the property was purchased, was the erection of temporary apartments, in which his lordship and his agent might reside, in order to become acquainted with the tenantry, and personally to superintend the operations to be carried on. Knowing something of the Irish language was a great advantage, and brought about an intercourse to which the tenantry were unaccustomed, and they asserted he could not be a lord at all, particularly as *he spoke Irish*.

Measures were immediately taken to put down illicit distil-

lation. A capacious corn store and kiln were erected, capable of containing four hundred tons of grain. A quay was formed in front of it, at which vessels of two hundred tons can load or discharge. Up to 1841, when Captain Stewart, of H. M. S. cutter, Chichester, wintered in the bay, no vessel could be freighted in Liverpool, the anchorage under the island of Gola being unknown. This gentleman wrote to some friends in Liverpool, and there has since been no hesitation on the part of shipowners to send vessels to the place. A market was thus established for the grain of the district, the price given for it being the same as at Letterkenny, twenty-six miles distant.

‘There was much difficulty in getting the store built; the *site* of it had to be blasted from the solid rock; and there were no masons or carpenters in the country capable of erecting a building of the kind. So great was the difficulty of getting even a coffin made, that, to secure the services of a carpenter, many of the people gave him annually sheaves of oats, on the express condition of making their coffin when they died. It was necessary to introduce competent tradesmen. They were paid every Saturday night, but on Monday morning it was by no means unusual for a carpenter or mason to desert in the interval. And no wonder. Bread or meat could not be procured, as there was no butcher or baker within a day’s journey. Tea and sugar could only be purchased from hawkers at an exorbitant price.’—p. 26.

The store being finished, it was necessary to procure materials to make carts, barrows, etc., for the tenantry, as there were only two carts, and no wheelbarrows, on the whole estate. Timber, iron, etc., were brought from Derry, nearly fifty miles distant. The tenants continually applied for these, and other articles, as a favour. A few were accommodated, and, to prevent jealousy, it was determined that such articles *should be sold*. This led to the demand for other articles, until, by and bye, a large shop was furnished, at first managed by the wheelwright, until it was necessary to enlarge it, and a person competent to manage a growing concern was employed. Judging from what we saw, when there, few market towns in Ireland possess so large a store, so abundantly and judiciously supplied. Prior to the erection of this store, no crockery could be seen in the cabins; now they are mostly supplied with the furniture usually visible in an English cottage. We even saw decanters, rummers, and wine glasses! Some idea may be formed of the business now carried on, and consequently the capital introduced into the district, from the following statement. The first quarter’s sales to December 1840, amounted to £40. 12s. 10d. In the corresponding quarter for 1844, the amount was £550! In 1839, the

grain purchased amounted to £479. 9s. 6d. In 1844, the amount was upwards of £1100 ! Lord George was not ashamed to have placed over the door of this establishment, G. A. Hill, Licensed to sell, etc. Considering his rank, and previous habits, this act was above all praise, and showed how determined he was to disregard personal feelings, in order to effect his truly benevolent purpose.

His lordship next attacked the Rundale system, and here a greater difficulty presented itself. The prejudice of generations had to be overcome. The conflicting rights of property, which were so confused, that even the tenants scarcely knew what belonged to them, had to be reconciled ; and more than all, they had to be convinced that the changes proposed would benefit themselves, as well as improve the estate. It occupied three anxious and toilsome years at Gweedore to effect his lordship's object ; for 20,000 acres had to be re-adjusted.

' A surveyor was employed, and maps drawn. . . The tenants were all assembled, and, though they advanced innumerable objections, peaceably consented to allow the new allotments to be made. It was guaranteed that each tenant should have a just proportion of the town land *according to his rent*, and all previous bargains investigated ; so that none, if possible, should suffer by the change. For this purpose, they were allowed to choose a *committee of themselves*, to assist in laying out the new farms. . . As many days as were thought necessary were allowed, that they might look over their new farms before they cast lots for them ; and whenever a reasonable objection was made, the divisions were *re-considered, and altered accordingly.*'—p. 29.

To remove the tenants from spots too crowded, a few ten acre farms were fenced in, but nothing could induce them to make fences, though they were offered to be well paid for doing so. They thought to tire out Lord George, but, happily, were mistaken. A party assembled one night, and the person employed to make the fences, heard they had gone to tear them down. He ran to the police barrack, got two men to accompany him, stormed the ditch gallantly, it being very dark, and secured prisoners. The next day, the agent being a magistrate, took down informations against all concerned in the outrage. This alarmed them so much, that they agreed to repair the damage, and construct the required fences. After this the division went on peaceably.

The preceding remarks give only a faint idea of the difficulties Lord Hill encountered. He had to settle disputes, in many cases, of twenty years' standing. The wonder is he ever succeeded. But, as is modestly stated in the 'Facts,' complaints and objections 'were all patiently listened to, and if well founded, *redressed.*' In this wild district, the division of

the land never would have been accomplished, without serious commotion, '*had not the people felt fully satisfied that there was every disposition to keep faith with them, and to give them the utmost fair play.*' We put these words in italics, for they contain the secret of the success of the effort; and we believe that in no part of Ireland, and among no tenantry, however lawless, not excepting the 'Tipperary boys,' would similar efforts fail, if carried on with similar patience, and in the same spirit of justice.

Having provided a market for their produce, broken up the miserable Rundale system, and fairly parcelled out the estate, to the satisfaction of the tenants, measures were adopted to improve their social habits. With this view premiums were offered for the encouragement of industry, in the hope that the tenantry would thereby be stimulated to exertion and self-reliance. Giving money gratuitously was as much as possible, avoided. These prizes were offered for neat cabins, *with chimnies*, the walls being plastered and whitewashed inside and outside, and manure heaps removed to a reasonable distance; for bedding and bed clothes, crops, particularly green crops, improved breeds of cattle and pigs, woollens, stockings, butter, for most land prepared, drained and trenched; for best fences, and best kept manure heaps, etc. The results are curious:—

'The first year, not a single individual could be induced to compete for the premiums, the people thinking it all a hoax, and that it was only an attempt to humbug them; being convinced that no gentleman would be so great a fool as to give his money merely to benefit others.'

'In 1840, observing that *any promise made to them was strictly fulfilled*, they acquired confidence, and some thought they might try the thing. . . . There were thirty-six competitors, and the premiums, amounting to £40. 1s. 6d., were so fairly awarded by the judges, that they caused general satisfaction. In 1841, there were forty competitors; 1842, eighty-four; 1843, two hundred and fifty; 1844, two hundred and thirty-nine. Much assistance was given by the London Irish Peasantry Improvement Society, enabling his lordship to continue a system of premiums which had so desirable an effect.'—p. 31.

It is Lord G. Hill's practice to invite gentlemen from all parts to make an annual inspection, report the progress of improvement, and to award the premiums; and their presence and decision serve to convince the peasantry of his impartiality and kindness. We wish we had room for extracts from these reports, copies of which, for several years, lie before us. One sentence, however, we cannot omit, from that for 1843:—

'It was peculiarly gratifying to us,' say these gentlemen, 'to witness the respectable appearance and orderly demeanour of the crowds of persons assembled upon this occasion, and the gratitude displayed

in their looks and manner, even more than by the expressions of the successful candidates; when, after the dinner provided for them by his lordship, his agent announced the decision of the judges, they approached, and received from his lordship's hands the amount of the prizes respectively awarded them.'—p. 33.

The following note is both interesting and amusing:—

'The poor people could not believe that they would be permitted to *dine with his lordship*. When assembled outside the door where the dinner was provided, seeing the surveyor, whom they knew, at the door, they anxiously inquired, if it were *really true* that they were to go in.'—Ib.

There are some admirable regulations precluding tenants from receiving any premiums: such as being convicted of making, or concerned in making, illicit whiskey; convicted of being concerned in any breach of the public peace; not paying up their rent without the necessity of compulsory measures.

A dispensary has also been established, and a qualified medical practitioner introduced into the district. The school-house, erected some time ago, was being enlarged when we were there. It is licensed as a place of worship, and a suitable residence for a clergyman was nearly finished. On this building there is a conspicuous clock, and a large bell is rung at stated hours during the day to let the people know the time, (for Irish peasants have no watches,) and that they may be induced to form punctual habits as to time.

There being no house of accommodation for strangers in the district, Lord Hill, in 1842, built a commodious hotel; and we can vouch for its plain elegance, comfort, and exceedingly moderate charges. The price of every article is printed, and placed in each room.

We subjoin a few particulars resulting from personal observation and inquiry. One admirable regulation is enforced. Sub-letting is not permitted, nor any dividing of land among children, without permission. As children grow up they are encouraged to go out to work, or, with the assistance of their parents, and benevolent landlord, are put in a position to take a small mountain farm, and thus provide for themselves.

The old mill, the only one in the whole district, until the present proprietor erected one of first-rate size and character, is left standing as a remnant of former times. The present mill ground one thousand tons of meal last year, and hundreds were saved from starvation. We were informed that no one had died, on this property, from want. The money sent to his lordship by benevolent societies to assist him, *for he took no rent last year*, in relieving his numerous tenantry, was all laid out in labor, chiefly for their benefit, as in making good bridle roads

to their mountain farms, whereby much toil will be saved, and cultivation greatly facilitated.

Five years ago a post-office was established, and a whole fortnight elapsed without a single letter. In August last, we were informed, the average amounted to two hundred a week! There is a monthly cattle market held, in a suitable place, in the centre of the estate, which is always crowded, and much business is transacted. Many of the poor people employ their leisure time in gathering sea-weed to make kelp. Three cargoes had been shipped, up to the close of the summer, amounting to nearly two hundred tons. Fish is abundant, and ere long we hope to hear of a good fishery being established. Lobsters, and other shell fish, are large and plentiful, and, of course, very cheap. The same may be said in respect to poultry.

It is due to Mr. Foster, his lordship's agent, to say, that he fully enters into his views, and carries out his plans most zealously, and with consummate ability. The gentleman who superintends the agricultural arrangements ably supports them, and now the tenantry, satisfied that their welfare has been, and will be, steadily kept in view, cheerfully co-operate, and Gweedore promises to be a happy and flourishing district.

If any of our readers should be induced to visit this part of Ireland, they must not expect to see a beautiful domain, well planted avenues, trim gardens, and blooming hedgerows. There has not been time for these; and, perhaps, the situation of the property, exposed to all the wild winds of winter, will scarcely admit of them. But they will see a savage waste reclaimed, and a once lawless tenantry rising into habits of industry and order;—delivered from drunkenness and its attendant vices, and at whose festivities, even, strong drink is scarcely seen.

We have dwelt somewhat longer on this subject, because it is to us, and we hope to our readers, one of deep interest. An experiment of great importance has been tried, which will exert, not only a most beneficial influence on the people of this district, but lead, we hope, to similar attempts in other parts of Ireland. It forms so strange a contrast to the management of most Irish estates, that the sight of it gave us a positive sensation of relief during a recent tour. The great mass of the Irish landlords might have done much to improve their estates, and their tenantry too, had they chosen. They had far greater facilities than Lord George Hill. They neglected both, and are now reaping the bitter fruits. There are many noble exceptions, but the bulk of them have been careless, extravagant, and oppressive.

We feast and reward successful warriors. The more bloody

the victory, the more we applaud. A General who conquers a country by policy, with little fighting, and scarcely any loss of life among his troops, is by no means so popular, as he who has added to our territory by means of profuse slaughter. To our minds, men who sacrifice personal comfort, forego their ease, bury themselves in some wild, remote district, among an ignorant, impoverished, and lawless people, in order to teach them the arts of industry and civilized life, stimulating them to rise in social comfort and independence, are those whom all would far more admire and applaud, if the common standard of character and exploit were not imperfect. In the hope that we may do a little to correct this false taste, we present these details of Lord George Hill's efforts at Gweedore. They have been disinterested. He can never see any adequate pecuniary return for his toil, anxiety, and outlay. He has a richer reward in the improvement and gratitude of a numerous tenantry, who were miserably degraded before he commenced his most praiseworthy enterprise. May his life long be spared, and may his children inherit their father's virtues, and imitate his bright example.

The affairs of Ireland will evidently occupy much of the attention of parliament during the present session. So far as we can judge from the Queen's Speech, coercive measures are to be submitted to the legislature. 'Her Majesty,' says the royal speech, 'feels it to be her duty to her peaceable and well disposed subjects to ask the assistance of parliament in taking further precautions against the perpetration of crime in certain countries and districts of Ireland.' What may be the precise meaning of this language we wait to see. It would be uncandid and unjust to assume that mere brute force were to be tried again. We have an earnest of the contrary in the character of Lord Clarendon, and our faith in his patriotism and political sagacity are strong. Should our hopes be disappointed, no words will express the bitterness of our censure. We are reaping what our fathers sowed, and if we would cure the evils entailed upon us, we must renounce, heart and soul, the system they patronised. Let property and life be protected, but let us attack the disease, not the symptom. Whatever measures are adopted, let the noble example of Lord Hill be borne in mind, and its lessons be enforced by the sanction of a nation. What an individual has done on a comparatively small scale, let parliament attempt within the larger province subjected to its power.

ART. VIII.—Letter of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England. Times, October 25th, 1847.

THE interference of the government with the credit market, recorded in the letter at the head of this article, virtually suspending the Act of 1844—the last, the most scientific, and most approved measure ever passed for the regulation of the currency—is a memorable event in the monetary history of the year now coming to a close. It was called for, as was expressed in the letter, ‘by a pressure upon the commercial interests of the country,’ ‘by a want of confidence necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade,’ by a ‘prevailing distrust;’ and, therefore, before we advert to the measure itself, we shall trace the progress of discredit amongst the mercantile classes which gave occasion to it.

In our number for June last, speaking of the crisis then generally supposed to have arrived in our commercial disorder, and the beginning of a recovery, we said, ‘numerous bankruptcies, such as took place on former occasions, have not yet happened, but it is feared they will happen.’ Very soon after our words were published the bankruptcies began. About the 20th of June, the extensive sugar house of Marquis, Forbin, Jansen, and Co. failed at Marseilles for £460,000, and several other failures in Lyons and Paris ‘created considerable uneasiness in our money market.’ Our notice of the foreign bankruptcy is justified by the remark; but we may add that, under the present system of railway travelling, which brings Vienna and Marseilles as near to London, in time, as were Edinburgh and Dublin half a century ago, and under the present system of holding foreign stocks and foreign railway shares in all the money markets of Europe, the demands of the merchants of one country on those of another are almost instantly met, as it may be most advantageous by the transmission from country to country of some of these paper securities. They constitute a general credit fund common to the whole of commercial Europe, which responds in London, its chief heart, to the slightest movement at the remotest extremity. Any remarks on general commercial discredit would therefore be incomplete, which omitted all notice of stoppages abroad.* It is our intention, however, to confine our-

* After the passage in the text was written, we read of the failure of Messrs. C. Rupe and Son, at Amsterdam, which involves bills to the amount of £16,000, forming part of the estate of Messrs. Castellain, bankrupts in

selves to such as have had some marked influence on credit, and been noticed by the authorities of our own Exchange. The first failure we mention, therefore, was that of a foreign house for nearly half a million sterling, accompanied by other failures in France, 'causing uneasiness in our own money market.'

Before the 26th of June, Messrs. Sewell and Co., in the sugar trade, failed for a considerable sum; and before July 2nd, Clayton and Co., bankers at Preston, stopped payment. About the same period, several minor failures in London and the country tended, we are told, 'to keep up a feeling of uneasiness.' These successive little shocks rendered valueless all the paper issued by the bankrupt houses, and excited distrust of the paper of other houses. Additional demands appear to have been made on the Bank of England; its circulation was enlarged, and its reserve and bullion decreased. By the middle of July, 'great uneasiness was felt in the money market;' a fall was established in public securities, which continued with interruptions till the end of October. In the beginning of August, but not till after discredit and bankruptcy had become somewhat alarming, the Bank feeling a drain, and seeing the diminution of its reserves, raised the rate of interest; and from that time till the day on which we write, the trade of the country has been all discredit, stoppage, and bankruptcy.

The numerous failures began amongst the corn-dealers. In the last week of May, the average price of wheat was 102s. 5d. per quarter; it then fell, and continued to fall in the successive weeks as follows:—99s. 10d., 88s. 10d., 91s. 7d., 91s. 4d., 87s. 1d., 82s. 3d., 75s. 6d., 77s. 3d., 75s. 5d., 66s. 10d., 62s. 6d., 60s. 4d., 56s. 8d., 54s. 4d., 49s. 6d., the average price of the week ending September 18th. The following week, the average price was 53s. 6d.; and it has continued rather above that, with a tendency upwards, ever since. In the week ending September 11th, some wheat was sold in the London markets for 44s. per quarter; but confining ourselves to the averages, which keep out of view the highest rise and the lowest fall, the price fell in fifteen weeks from 102s. 5d. to 49s. 6d., or upwards of one hundred per cent. The holders of corn, supposing them to have possessed 1,000,000 quarters, and estimating them at 100s. a quarter in May, then appeared to be worth £20,000,000, and in September they were only worth £10,000,000. Numerous failures, however, took place before the price reached the extreme point of depression, but not before it had fallen considerably and very rapidly.

The trade report of the first week of August, in the *Econo-*

London, and diminishes their assets to the amount of the differences between that sum and the dividend their estate may receive from the estate of Messrs. C. Rupe and Son.

mist, says:—‘On Monday, at Mark Lane, the price of English wheat receded from 6s. to 9s. per quarter, and that of foreign wheat from 8s. to 10s.’ From Leeds, the report is, ‘a decline of 10s. to 12s. per quarter.’ ‘There were great importations of foreign wheat,’ and a ‘continuance of most favourable weather for the harvest.’ The price had then sunk below 70s. The first house to fail was that of Perrin and Co., in the provision trade, at Liverpool, for £40,000. On August 6th, the house of Sampson, Langdale, and Co., at Stockton-on-Tees, failed; liabilities, £107,000. On the same day, Douglas and Son failed; liabilities, £600,000. Then followed in quick succession, Lesley, Alexander, and Co.; liabilities, £573,000: Coventry and Sheppard, King and Melville, and others, through August and September, till the number of failures in the corn-trade exceeded twenty, with liabilities amounting to nearly £3,000,000. The following list will show the number and amount of the

STOPPAGES CONNECTED WITH THE CORN TRADE.

Dates.	Name of Firm.	Reported Liabilities.
Aug. 6 ..	Sampson, Langdale, and Co.	107,000
..	Douglas and Son	600,000
.. 10 ..	Lesley, Alexander, and Co.	573,000
.. 11 ..	Coventry and Sheppard	100,000
.. — ..	King, Melville, and Co.	100,000
.. 13 ..	Giles and Son	152,000
.. — ..	Fraser and Co., Antwerp	65,000
.. 21 ..	W. R. Robinson and Co.	94,000
.. 27 ..	Woodley and Son	99,509
.. — ..	Alexander, Dickson, and Co., Beltenbet, Belfast	—
.. — ..	Lyon and Finny, Liverpool	—
.. 28 ..	J. and C. Kirkpatrick, Liverpool	60,000
.. — ..	F. D. Neal and Co., Liverpool	—
.. — ..	J. N. Rowett and Co., Liverpool	200,000
Sept. 4 ..	Booker and Sons	50,000
.. 8 ..	Denny and Co., Glasgow	200,000
.. — ..	Saunders, Wetherell, and Co., Stockton-on-Tees	30,000
.. 10 ..	Usborne and Son	200,000*
.. — ..	Hastic and Hutchinson	100,000*
.. 24 ..	Westlake and Co., Southampton	—
Oct. 9 ..	E. M. Broadhurst, Manchester	—
	Total	2,730,509
Date unknown ..	Gregg, H. and G., Liverpool	—
..	Donnison and Co., Limerick	—

* So reported. Debts of the first subsequently stated to be £59,000—assets £33,000; of the second, £50,000—assets, £29,000. We retain the reported liabilities to shew the magnitude of men's fears.

The aggregate sum involved in these failures is not less than £3,000,000, or about a sixth of the importations of this extraordinary year. There is scarcely a failure for less than £100,000, which is a large sum for a corn merchant. One failed for £600,000, and one for a sum approaching that; and three failed for £200,000. The gigantic nature of the whole operations, extending to various countries, of which these enormous liabilities were only a part, thus becomes apparent, and astonishment ceases that those who undertook them could not guide them to a successful issue.

The cause of the failure of the corn merchants is so apparent, that any illustration of it is only required by the attempts that have been made to involve it in obscurity. These gentlemen gave more for their corn than it was worth. They bought, probably, when the price was verging on 80s., 90s., or 100s., expecting to realise a sum approximating to that; and when the price sunk to 70s., with the probability of a further and rapid fall, they were unable to fulfil their engagements. No facility of discount, no extensive or excessive issues of the currency, which did not suddenly debase it one half, could have enabled them to take up their bills. Some of the houses, like that of Woodley and Son, the chief partner in which was said to have been worth more than £50,000, clear, at the beginning of the year, were strong; but others—great show houses, having no substance, and trading with borrowed capital—were at all times weak, and could not have survived a much less loss than from fifty to eighty per cent. on half a million of money. There can be no doubt whatever that the single cause of the failure of the corn merchants was the great fall in the price of corn between the time when they bought and the time when they were obliged to sell.

As there was no equal and corresponding fall in the prices of all other commodities, much influenced as they are by the price of corn, it is quite unnecessary to refute the assertion that the fall in the latter was caused by a stringent action of the Bank, and a great enhancement in the value of money. That would have affected all commodities. A more doubtful point, and one more worthy of elucidation is, whether the high price in spring were a mere speculative price, or justified by circumstances; and whether the price in September were a mere panic price, or an approximation to the ordinary and fair value of the article. Great pains were taken at the beginning of the year, by a certain portion of the press, to convince the world that the stock of corn was nearly exhausted—that an immense quantity of food would be required for Ireland, and that we were threatened by a famine. The corn merchants entertained that opinion, and acted on it.

They ransacked the world for food, and by their successful exertions they contributed to prevent the famine which the public had been taught to dread. They laboured at the same time to keep prices high. Till the extent of the supply which would be obtained was actually ascertained, by the importation of 4,275,799 quarters of grain, and 3,378,242 hundred weights of flour, in the first six months of the present year, and till there was almost a certainty of an abundant harvest, they succeeded; but then they were defeated by the fine weather and their own importations. Since the price fell in September to 49s., there has yet been nothing like a rise in price corresponding to the previous fall, and there is no probability, at present, of any such rise. The price in May was very nearly double the average price of the whole period since the corn-laws were passed in 1815, and 10s. or 12s. higher than the highest price in 1838 or 1842. It may, therefore, be fairly inferred, that the price in May was in a great measure not warranted by facts, and was in a much greater degree above the reasonable and fair price than the panic price in September was below it. The high price in May, against which the corn merchants said not a word, and which never gave occasion to a single complaint of our monetary system, was the false thing; the price in September, which caused such loud complaints of restricted discounts and bad bank management, was a pretty close approximation to the real and true thing. To what degree exactly the corn merchants, with writers in the press, may have contributed to engender the false thing, we will not presume to say; but it was in a great measure engendered by their unfounded hopes and ill-regulated *imaginings*, and they were properly punished for their error by failure and bankruptcy.

Continually, at present, the inefficiency of human laws is forced on our attention; and therefore it is satisfactory to trace, wherever we can, retributive justice in the course of nature. Speculators in corn and cotton, by raising the price of these two articles, prevented all through the spring and summer cotton mills from working with full activity. Cotton goods were raised in price, and there were fewer to exchange for corn. Its price fell so much the more, and hastened the bankruptcy of the speculators. There were also fewer cotton goods to export with advantage, and gold was exported in preference. That again limited the circulation, and raised the value of money. The difficulties after a time reached the cotton speculators, as well as the corn speculators, and they failed, or were bolstered up by the Bank. What happened to these gentlemen in October was the consequence of their own avarice in May; so that their disgrace

and suffering may be traced to their own conduct. The engineer was 'hoist by his own petard.'

In fairness, we must advert to one or two extraordinary circumstances which, by no fault of their own, might mislead the judgment of the corn merchants. The great cause of the real and expected dearness of food was the failure of the potato crop in particular, and generally of the harvest of 1846. Naturally, these circumstances dictated for all classes the utmost frugality, and a great decrease of consumption. The executive government, however, interfered for the relief of the Irish ; who were better fed at the close of 1846 and the beginning of 1847 than they had been for many years, according to the testimony of the government officers. At the same time, the mode of distributing food by paid agents, gave an abundance to those who might otherwise have wanted ; and thus the consequence of the government interference was to reverse the order of nature, to lessen frugality, and to increase consumption. The legislature, too, had given its sanction, and really its command, to complete within a given time a certain number of railways. There was, in consequence, a great expenditure on railways in 1846 and in the early part of 1847, and a corresponding increase of consumption. The increased consumption was in both cases the offspring of legislation ; it was extraneous to trade ; it was unnatural ; it was the very reverse of what nature dictated ; and helped to lead those, who fancied they were only consulting the natural course of trade, completely astray.

It is scarcely necessary now to state, that the real payment for one product is always some other product. In our number for June, we explained that English manufacturers were suffering from the loss of the crops in Ireland, and the failure of the cotton crop in the United States. The lessened production, accordingly, in our manufacturing districts, in the present year, became in turn a diminution of the means of paying the corn merchants for their imports. At the same time, the labour of the Irish and the labour employed in making railways, though accompanied by greatly enlarged consumption, produced nothing to give immediately for food. Thus, as the government ceased to feed the Irish, and as a stop was put to railway undertakings, there was a great diminution of consumption, a lessened demand in the market, and the cessation of two causes for keeping high the price of food. The corn merchants could not possibly foresee such circumstances, and in so far as these acts of the government increased the demand for food, and raised its price in the autumn of last year, and in the beginning of this, without causing any corresponding production of other commodities to pay that price,

and consequently led to a corresponding fall of price this autumn, the corn merchants may be excused for their miscalculations.

Another circumstance is, that France, Germany, and other countries competed with us for food in the markets of the United States and of Russia. That was very unusual, and confirmed the apprehension of a severe general dearth. Some of these buyers had a national purse at their command, and helped to run up the markets above the ordinary trade level. As we have traced the failures of the corn merchants to their own miscalculations, justice to them has required us clearly to state these exonerating circumstances. Making this allowance, their aberration or mistake, for its degree, nearly one hundred per cent., is very remarkable, and we believe almost unexampled. It is still more remarkable, and not destitute of instruction for those who require from governments statistical information on every branch of human business, that the aberration took place at a time when the governments of France, England, and the United States at least, supplied much more complete statistical information than at any former period. Some of that supplied by France, if not designed, was calculated to mislead.

Having now explained the failure of the corn-merchants, and distinctly traced it to their own speculations, we turn to the failure of the general merchants, which occurred about the same period. On August 7th, Messrs. Fraser, Neilson, and Co., West India merchants, and the house of Mr. E. Robinson, in the Mauritius trade, suspended their payments. They were speedily followed by Messrs. Castellain; Gowers, Nephews, and Co.; Reed, Irving, and Co.; Cockerell, and Co.; Sanderson, and Co.; Lyall, Brothers, and Co., and a great number of houses in London, in our provincial marts, and on the Continent. To the fifteenth of November, the number was not less than one hundred and thirty considerable houses, engaged in the East and West India trade, and in the trade with the Mauritius; some were general merchants, and some were brokers' commission agents and spinners. Several of them were merchant-princes, who had dealings with all the world. Many were considered very wealthy; almost all were of a highly respectable standing; and one of the firms was presided over by the governor of the Bank of England, Mr. W. R. Robinson. Some more of those who failed, had been governors of the Bank, or directors, or were directors at the moment of failure.

The first of the great failures came on the public like an unexpected thunder-clap on a still, dark night. Terror at once pervaded every part of the mercantile community; but as house fell after house, terror gave way to recklessness, and the ques-

tion was jokingly asked, What 'tall admiral' was next to fall? All parties began to think of taking care of themselves, and the difficulties of all were enhanced by every one locking up his cash, and making no payments he could avoid.

Only one general cause, similar to the fall in the price of corn, appears to have affected several of these merchants. The houses engaged in the Mauritius and West India trade, suffered from a fall in the price of sugar—the consequence partly of the reduction of duty on foreign sugar in 1846. This fall was from 47s., duty paid, West Indian, in January, to 39s. in May, and to 36s. 6d. in October. On other sugars the fall was in proportion, but it was both more gradual and less in amount than the fall in the price of wheat. It took place, too, in face of a greatly increased consumption, on all of which the merchants should have had a profit—namely, 26,960 tons more in the first six months of 1847, than in the first six months of 1846; or more than one-fifth of the whole. The imports at the same time much exceeded the consumption. Nearly all the sugar of the world was brought to England, the fall of price being partly caused by over-importation. To that diminution of the means of houses engaged in the West India and Mauritius trade, must be added the effects on East India houses, of some trifling alterations in the duties levied on Indian. These petty changes, and this comparatively trifling fall of price may have been the last straw that bore down a previously over-loaded house. It would have been dishonourable, however, to be crushed by such trifles, had the affairs of our merchant-princes been in a condition, when exposed to public scrutiny, to exonerate them from all censure...

Unfortunately for the character of our commerce, the reverse was the case. Several of the leading houses had been for years embarrassed, and even insolvent. Some of them were as deficient in capital, and as reckless in their conduct, as mere adventurers.

The following table, borrowed from the 'Times,' gives the particulars of twenty estates:—

Date of Suspension.	Firm.	Liabilities.	Assets.	Estimated Dividend.
		£	£	
Aug. 10...	Lesley, Alexander, and Co.	573,502	231,869	8s.
— 27...	W. and J. Woodley	99,509	90,845	18s.
— 13...	Giles, Son, and Co.	152,824	90,911	11s. 6d.
— 21...	W. R. Robinson and Co.	94,362	100,390	20s.
Sept. 17...	Reid, Irving & Co.	660,432	846,756	£557,149 Mauritius estates, put down without deduction; probable dividend, 7s. to 10s. in the pound.
— 30...	Lyall, Brothers ...	340,387	151,556	9s. £203,000 due from Lyall, Matheson, and Co., estimated at only £60,000. If this firm should pay in full, then the dividend from Lyall, Brothers, would be about 17s.
— 10...	Thomas Usborne and Son	59,457	33,527	11s., to be paid in three instalments.
— 25...	Cockerell and Co.	619,393	809,254	20s. A debt of 435,000 from the Calcutta house is put down among the assets, without deduction.
Aug. 23...	Castellan, Sons, and Co.	69,651	33,603	9s. 8d. (See note, p. 750).
Oct. 3...	Thomas, Son, and Lefevre	401,760	441,972	20s.
Sept. 28...	Perkins, Schlusser and Co.	127,327	136,048	20s.
— 10...	Hastie and Hutchinson	50,451	38,796	15s., to be paid in four instalments.
— 11...	Gower, Nephews, and Co.	450,832	112,831	5s., exclusive of Mauritius property, which cost £266,000.
Oct. 14...	I. and W. Morley	119,731	89,217	11s. offered.
Sept. 29...	Fry, Griffiths, and Co.	90,979	19,231	1s. 3d.
Oct. 13...	Barclay, Brothers, and Co.	389,504	298,491	15s.
— 9...	Rickards, Little, and Co.	141,676	50,430	6s. 8d.
Sept. 30...	Samuel Phillips and Co.	101,474	100,075	19s. 6d.
— 30...	W. T. Fraser	33,665	40,297	20s.
Oct. 15...	Laurence Philips and Sons	18,368	64,840	20s.

The above list comprises twenty firms, with an aggregate of liabilities of £4,598,284, which would give an average of £229,414 for each firm. The average dividend furnished by the above estimates may be stated at about 13s. 6d. in the pound.

In several cases, where the bankrupt houses had property, a large part of it was locked up in estates, or other unnegotiable securities. Some examples there were of stoppages, in which the property was more than sufficient to meet all the liabilities, but it could not be realized at the moment without incurring great loss; and the parties preferred suspending their transactions, to making a great sacrifice. But most of them were in so bad a condition, that under any system of currency, under any amount of circulation, they must sooner or later have stopped. '*One half of the firms named*,' said a broker's circular, giving a list of some of the principal failures, '*were absolutely insolvent*, and it would have been madness in the Bank of England, had its coffers been overflowing with bullion, to discount paper on the faith of their names, on any terms whatever.* Their insolvency had been of some standing. The corn-merchants, generally speaking, though amongst them there were examples of the other case, failed from a sudden and great change in the price of their stock; the great houses in the general line perished from a long continued atrophy.

These facts must satisfy our readers, notwithstanding the great outcry that was made at the time against the Bank of England, and notwithstanding some errors it committed, that the condition of the currency had very little to do with the discredit of the merchants. Including all the variations of the country banks, the changes in the amount of currency bore no relation to the sudden change in price which ruined the corn-merchants. At all times the currency has fluctuated somewhat in amount; and those who attribute the ruin to a restriction on the bank issues, say not one word against them when speculation makes men mad. If the currency be in fault, it must be blamed for the excessive high price as well as the panic price,—the former being, as we have shown, more out of the course of nature than the latter. It is, however, idle to ascribe the price of wheat in May, to the action of the Bank, and equally idle to ascribe the price in September to any alteration, for none of importance occurred, in its issues.

The great mass of the sum put down as 'liabilities,' consisted of acceptances, which passed from hand to hand, and were—what silver was in the time of Abraham—'current money with the merchant.' A portion only of that amounted to £4,598,284, and probably the whole amount was not less than £12,000,000. Considering the wide extent of the discredit, including the foreign firms, we doubt if the sum were not much greater. To

* Monthly Circular of Messrs. Laing and Bruxner for the Overland Mail of October.

make its effects apparent, we must quote a passage, describing the cases of mercantile bills :—

' Bills of exchange,' said Mr. Burgess, in his letter to Mr. Canning, written more than twenty years ago, and the practice of using bills has since increased, *' have long ceased to be merely an instrument of commerce to render perfect a mercantile transaction between country and country, and internal bills have become gradually more and more a part of our circulation ; they have ceased to be so currently used by the manufacturers in payment of small sums under ten pounds as they were thirty or forty years ago, owing to the high rates of stamps upon small sums. Bills above the value of ten pounds form now as completely a part of the currency as Bank of England notes. They are used to pay for minerals—for all kinds of raw produce used in manufactures—for all the principal articles of food and clothing, and recently in some cases for mere labour. * * * * In the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, no man, generally speaking, thinks of paying for any commodities above the nature of ten pounds, otherwise than by a bill after date. This practice is now very general through the northern and midland counties, and is increasing in other parts. A bill at three months is considered in Lancashire and part of Yorkshire, which, as regards bills, is almost half the kingdom, to be in money payment.'*

The bills of the merchants, then, are real currency ; and to have the bulk of them discredited, to have some £10,000,000 or £12,000,000 at once stamped as worthless, might well paralyse all trade. There were houses in the city with heaps of bills, nominally of great value, on which no discounter would advance a farthing. The real fact was totally different from the fact, in 1826 and 1797—the currency of the merchants, not of the banks, was discredited, and the merchants as a body suffered. Their failures contracted business, and prevented the circulation of other currency, dependent on their transactions. On their bills, bankers as the rule, made advances ; and as they were discredited, the bankers kept their currency in their tills. The extensive failures of the merchants preceded the contraction of bankers' currency. They caused most of the bank failures, such as that of the Royal Bank of Liverpool ; they led to straightened accommodation, and were the cause, not the effect, of limited bank issues.

The currency of the merchants being discredited, there was a great demand for the currency of the bankers ; or money, in which they deal, became unusually dear. So many merchants having failed, all merchants found it difficult to obtain the accommodation they had been accustomed to receive ; and, overlooking the remote cause,—mercantile discredit—they ascribed it to the deficiency of bankers' currency, and demanded an

increased issue of notes. They were joined by some theorists, they influenced a portion of the press; and so great a clamor was raised, that the ministers gave way to it; and while they professed to believe that the currency was sound in principle, and soundly administered, they adopted a measure to give relief by setting aside the law, and altering the administration of the bank currency.

That there was no extraordinary action of the Bank between May and September, nor any great efflux of bullion, to give rise to the great discredit of the merchants is evident from the following statement:—

BANK RETURNS FOR 1847.

(We omit three figures—the sums are millions.)

	MAY.		SEPTEMBER.		
	First Week.	Last Week.	First Week.	Last Week.	
Issue.....	22,506	....	22,396	....	22,190
Bullion	9,337	....	10,169	....	8,782
Reserve.....	3,572	....	5,497	....	4,751
Mercantile Securities..	16,112	....	17,041	....	17,508
Circulation	20,600	....	19,428	....	19,049
					18,898

The decline of bullion, the most important feature, from the highest to the lowest point was only £1,387,000., and the diminution of circulation only £1,708,000., but when both the bullion and the circulation were the lowest, the amount of mercantile securities was the highest, so that the Bank gave the greatest accommodation, being willing to assist the merchants when its circulation and its own resources were most in danger. We do not undertake the defence of the Bank. Its charter is an outrage on freedom and justice. The legislation regulating the currency is from beginning to end contrary to principle, and one tissue of ignorance and absurdity. But it is of great importance to place the truth fairly before the public, and not to exonerate the mercantile classes by erroneously censoring the Bank. Of its general effects, into which we do not now inquire, for they are not in question, we say nothing, we speak only of its temporary action, and between that and the failure of our merchant princes there was no connection. In a season of prosperity they are disposed to regard it as an admirable institution and frown down all attempts to get rid of it. Their adversity has no more influence than their prosperity, in determining our opinion of that institution; we condemn it at all times, and on principle, not because they plunge at one time into wild speculations, and at another become bankrupts.

For some time past the character of our commercial classes has not been rising in public estimation. In their hands com-

merce has almost ceased to be the beneficial means of equalizing supply and demand through time and space, neutralizing the varying effects of seasons, and giving to all countries the peculiar products of different climates, and has become a mere gambling. Against that perversion those who most honour genuine traffic will most loudly protest. The instances made public of individual mismanagement, are, we are afraid, but types of a general misconduct, which threatens, if commerce be the main stay of the empire, great national disasters. If what we are about to quote be well founded, and from what we have witnessed we are afraid it is, and a very searching reform do not speedily take place in the mode of conducting business, the failures that have already occurred are only the forerunners of a wider spread bankruptcy.

In the circular of Messrs. Laing and Bruxner already quoted, it is said, 'the system of *discounting bills drawn and accepted* not for the strictly legitimate purpose of effecting remittances and payments, but for *raising working capital has become the general custom of the mercantile world.*' In the same sense Messrs. Dufay and Co., in their circular from Manchester for November affirm, that the examination of the affairs of certain great houses has *destroyed all confidence in English merchants*; and that it has been proved that many of them trade on borrowed capital, and some of them have even lived on borrowed capital.

In conjunction with these extraordinary statements, it must be remembered, that in the great majority of cases, for many years past, business has been carried on at a very low rate of profit. The interest on the public funds, which are a good index to mercantile profit, though of course below it, have not for several years on the average yielded more than three and a half per cent. Merchants, themselves, are continually on the watch to import cheap commodities, being equally useful as dearer commodities, from all parts of the world, and their excessive competition, very beneficial on the whole to the public, continually tends to reduce profit very low. Of late the principle of free trade has been extensively acted on, and though the opening of new markets always, in the first instance, tends to raise the rate of profit, the additional competition cannot fail to reduce it speedily to a minimum. It is nearly impossible, therefore, that trade can now be successfully carried on as it was between 1797 and 1820, when the rate of profit was comparatively high, chiefly on borrowed capital. And when that capital is borrowed on bills paying a comparatively high rate of interest, subject to stamp duties on renewals, and put into circulation as currency, being, in fact, a false foundation for an

immense fabric—not only must it be impossible to carry on trade successfully for a continuance, but the whole must fall to ruin, and crush beneath it the bulk of the community. We all have an interest then, a fearful interest, in the conduct of our merchants, and writers do the public a serious injury—they sin against truth and justice, when they shield the mercantile classes from distrust and reproach, by throwing the blame of their bankruptcy on an act of the legislature, or the mismanagement of the Bank.

Such a conclusion we are aware is not very flattering to our self-love. With that habitual reverence for wealth, which is now a distinguishing national characteristic, we have humbled ourselves before these merchant-princes, and it cuts us to the soul to find out that they are no better than they should be. Not many years ago, a number of literary men gathered around the Edinburgh bookseller, Mr. Constable, who lived in great style, and passed for a man of great wealth. On a sudden he failed, and was found to have been insolvent for years, and to have imposed on the world by prodigious assumption. By those literary men who had flattered him, his name was never afterwards mentioned but with feelings of shame and reproach, that they had allowed themselves to honour a man whose every day life was a fraudulent demand on their respect. What happened—in that individual case, must now be general. The leading spirits of the age have flattered and worshipped the great bubbles that have now burst. They were honoured as the great men of the greatest city of the world. They decided elections, gave the tone to public opinion, and influenced the fate of ministers and of nations. War and peace were in a great measure dependent on them. All at once we see them collapse into helplessness, confess they are little better than impostors, and cry almost as piteously for government help as the Irish landlords. More money is demanded, the community must be taxed to keep up prices for them, and, instead of proudly dictating to ministers and setting bounds to government, they demand its aid. On the pretence that commerce cannot move without it, they are ready to sacrifice the public liberties and increase the authority of the state. It was trade carried on, by men of capital and honour, that taught the world, and inculcated on statesmen, the great doctrine of *laissez faire*, but trade under the management of our men of pretence cannot go alone, and assuming a false character, they betray a great truth, as well as derange the affairs of a great people.

It is not, however, surprising, that the merchants who suffer as a body, and are not much accustomed to take philosophy to

their help, should be willing to lay the blame on the Bank, and raise an outcry for government help and currency reform. Nor is it very surprising that public writers, taking their cue from their customers, the suffering merchants, though like them they cordially approved of the act of 1844, and were delighted with the Bank in 1845 and 1846, should have united with them in blaming the law and the Bank, and in demanding an additional issue of notes. But we are much astonished that the ministers who approve of the act of 1844, who throw no blame on the Bank, who are justly of opinion that commercial discredit can not be traced to the action of the currency, should have yielded to the demands of the mercantile classes and the journalists, and issued their letter of October 25th. We are still more astonished at the language they use, and we believe, that they must have been, with their opinions, themselves surprised at the beneficial effects of their measure. Here is the letter:—

‘ Downing-street, Oct. 25, 1847.

‘ Gentlemen, — Her Majesty’s government have seen with the deepest regret the *pressure which has* existed for some weeks *upon the commercial interests* of the country, and that this *pressure* has been aggravated by a want of that *confidence* which is necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade.

‘ They have been in hopes that the check given to transactions of a speculative character, the transfer of capital from other countries, the influx of bullion, and the feeling which a knowledge of these circumstances might have been expected to produce, *would have removed the prevailing distrust*.

‘ They were encouraged in this expectation by the speedy cessation of a similar state of feeling in the month of April last.

‘ These hopes have, however, been disappointed, and her Majesty’s government have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when they ought to *attempt* by some extraordinary and temporary measure to *restore confidence* to the mercantile and manufacturing community.

‘ For this purpose they recommend to the directors of the Bank of England, in the present emergency, to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security; but that, in order to retain this operation within reasonable limits, a high rate of interest should be charged. In present circumstances they would suggest that the rate of interest should not be less than eight per cent.

‘ If this course should lead to any infringement of the existing law, her Majesty’s government will be prepared to propose to Parliament, on its meeting, a Bill of Indemnity.

‘ They will rely upon the discretion of the directors to reduce as soon as possible the amount of their notes, if any extraordinary issues should take place within the limits prescribed by law.

‘ Her Majesty’s government are of opinion that any extra profit derived from this measure should be carried to the account of the public, but the precise mode of doing so must be left to future arrangement.

‘ Her Majesty’s government are not insensible to the evil of any departure from the law which has placed the currency of this country upon a sound basis; but they feel confident that, in the present circumstances, the measure which they have proposed may be safely adopted; and that, at the same time, the main provisions of that law and the vital principle of preserving the convertibility of the bank note may be firmly maintained.

‘ We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient humble servants,
‘ JOHN RUSSELL.
‘ CHARLES WOOD.

‘ The Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England.’

The ministers profess that pressure on the mercantile classes is caused by a want of confidence, not by a want of currency, and at the same time they profess to restore confidence by enlarging the currency of the Bank. The inconsistency is trifling compared to the assumption that mercantile confidence is under their controul, and can be restored by some extraordinary measure to be taken by them. Replete as our monetary regulations are with assumption and inconsistencies, such as the celebrated resolution of Mr. Vansittart, that a pound note and a shilling were equal to twenty-seven shillings, none of them are surpassed by the assumptions and inconsistencies of this letter. The Bank directors, however, agreed to act on it. They resolved on the same day that the *minimum* rate of discount on bills not having more than ninety-five days to run be eight per cent. That advances be made on Bills of Exchange, on Stock, Exchequer-bills, and other approved securities, in sums of not less than £2,000 and for periods to be fixed by the governors, at the rate of eight per cent per annum.’ This did not appear very likely to give relief, but relief followed. Although the conditions of the act of 1844 have not been overstepped since the minister’s letter, and there is no occasion to demand an indemnity for setting aside the law, the public funds have risen, money has been easier, confidence to some extent has been revived, and hope has been rekindled. How much these effects have arisen from causes totally different from the minister’s letter, such as the natural end of the disease by the death of all the weak members, giving more room for the strong survivors, we shall not investigate, but we must, to avoid any erroneous inferences, point out the specific mode in which their interference has been beneficial.

The law fixes a very certain and definite limit to the Bank issues in relation to the gold in its coffers. As the gold diminishes, the Bank draws in its notes, Bank currency rises in value, and a fear is begotten that it will rise still higher. That is entirely and exclusively the consequence of laying down the rule by law, that notes shall only be issued in a certain proportion to the amount of gold in the Bank till. For an individual banker to follow such a rule is extremely prudent, but it is with him at all times a question of individual discretion, and it does not follow that what is proper for him to do, should be decreed by the law. On the contrary, an iron rule of law would supersede the banker's discretion, and guide his operations by legislation, instead of by his own resources and the wants and means of his customers. The Bank for which the law has established the rule also receives a quasi monopoly of the right to issue a currency payable on demand. Thus the quantity of gold in the Bank till, instead of the wants of and means of the people, is made by act of Parliament, the rule for determining the quantity of credit or Bank currency in circulation. From that arose an apprehension that the amount limited by a false rule of law would be insufficient for the purpose of commerce.

We have already had occasion to see the important part that imagination played in producing the bankruptcy of corn merchants. As in that case it enhanced the price of corn, in this, it enhances the value of the Bank currency, makes all men eager to get it, and adds to the difficulty occasioned by the discredit of mercantile currency. Merchants could never tell to what extent the gold might go out, and to what extent credit money might be stinted and rise in value. The letter of the government put an end to their apprehensions by suspending the false legislative rule of regulating the amount of credit currency by the amount of gold. It generated the conviction that though the gold should go out, credit currency would not be further curtailed. It placed a limit to the contraction, and removed farther off the artificial limit to expansion.

Be it remembered that the correction applied by the ministers was not of a natural, but of a legislative evil. It removed the false legislation of strictly limiting the currency of bankers by bullion, and so impressed on all the conviction that the Bank issues would not be indefinitely narrowed. Its effects, however, were wholly moral, and therefore apt to be overlooked by writers who confine their attention to material results. In point of fact, the letter of October 25th, was a nullity; the permission it gave was not acted on, the issue of notes has not yet exceeded the limit set by the law. Materially then the letter was of no use, but morally it was a benefit. Whether

ministers were aware or not of the mode of operation, their proceeding did restore confidence ; not mercantile confidence, not the confidence of discounters in the bills of merchants who trade on credit and live on credit, but confidence in escaping at a time of extremity, by the dispensing power of the executive, from the iron rule of the law. It is another remarkable example of the influence of imagination over those affairs which in general are supposed to lie beyond its sphere. Had ministers been aware how easily and beneficially they could have operated on this faculty, they would hardly have delayed so long their extraordinary measure, and made themselves responsible as by their letter they have, for all the mischief that ensued by the want of confidence which prevailed from the beginning of September to the end of October. They could have remedied it according to their own statement, and did not.

The complete unsubstantiality of our commercial greatness, which the discredit of our merchants both at home and abroad, has revealed, and the insufficiency of our much boasted Bank Act, of which the minister's letter is an avowal, have begotten quite a chaos of discussion. It was supposed, when the Corn Laws were abolished, they had so exclusively occupied the public, that political writers would be at a loss for topics. The apprehension is dissipated for ever. The bankruptcy of 1847 has shown society under a new phasis, and at once convinced us, however desirable and just is free trade, that legislation for the mere purpose of extending commerce, carried on as that now is, in a manner ruinous to the substantial wealth and the morals of the people, will lose its support in the general mind. The abolition of all kinds of monopoly, and of all exclusive privileges and advantages conferred by the law, will be always as advantageous as it is righteous ; but neither the abolition of the Bank Charter, nor the abolition of the Navigation Laws, can be recommended on the ground that it will extend the operations of such houses as those of the Gowers, Rae Reid, and Lesley Alexander. Speculation rioting in its resources, and enhancing at one time the price of corn and cotton, stops the wheels of half the mills in Manchester, and becoming bankrupt at another, throws the whole productive machinery of the country out of gear, threatening confusion, outrage, and the sacrifice of liberty. That is too high a price to pay for the chance of enriching a few gambling merchants ; and one of the most fatal effects of commercial bankruptcy is, to diminish the political influence of our commercial classes. The discredit of trade tends to restore the ascendancy of the landed aristocracy.

Other subjects connected with these great failures, which have been prominently brought into discussion, are, the govern-

ment of the Bank, which it is proposed to remove from under the control of directors who are merchants, and may be bankrupts ; the abolition of the Bank Charter ; the establishment of a national bank ; the propriety of authorizing the government, or allowing individuals to issue, at discretion, promises to pay ; the incorrectness of establishing, by law, a standard of value, when there is none in nature but the estimate of buyers and sellers ; the whole system of the currency, to reform which, innumerable suggestions have been tossed before the public ; the greater utility of joint stock banks than of private banks, which is now made doubtful by several of the former having failed ; the influence of our rapid modes of transit on credit, bills being still drawn on the old dates of six and nine months, when the commodities on which they are drawn are brought to market in three, and consumed long before the bills are paid, leaving, in truth, little or nothing to pay them with, but other bills ; and many similar subjects, which we cannot find room even to mention. Some reference to the agitation and discussion they are causing, may, however, well be expected in an article professing to treat of that general commercial discredit, which has occasioned them, and is the most startling phenomenon of our day. But we have confined ourselves strictly to that single topic, and have endeavoured to show that mercantile discredit is not the consequence of the monetary regulations to which the great part of the public ascribe it, and that its cause must be sought in the domain of morals, rather than in that of political economy. On the probability of its continuing or recurring, we will not venture an opinion further than to say, that mercantile men generally act like the corn merchants, and gather from all quarters of the globe commodities for sale, thereby leading to abundance and cheapness, while the speculations of each individual can only succeed by comparative scarceness and dearness. The separate aims are in opposition to the general result, and there must, therefore, be many failures. If to this we add, that while the price of commodities is falling, brokerage, freight, commission, and a great variety of fixed charges remain undiminished, a presumption arises against the expectation that credit will again be exuberant for a long period, and commerce uninterruptedly flourish. Looking at the immense army of extravagant men, who, in all our cities, now derive large incomes from the mere transmission and distribution of commodities, the producers of which derive little more than a subsistence from their labours, it seems irrational to expect that this system, now that its hollowness is exposed, should be restored to its former imposing greatness and splendour.

Brief Notices.

The Poet's Pleasance; or, Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers, which our Poets have, in Past Time, for Pastime, planted. By Eden Warwick. London: Longman and Co.

ON first opening this beautiful volume, we were somewhat disappointed. The elegance of its exterior, and its ornate embellishments, led us to anticipate, we scarcely know why, a more delicious treat than 'The Introduction,' on which we first alighted, promised to supply. The matter-of-fact habits of the present day are not suited to the old *Reverie*, and Mr. Warwick has not succeeded in reconciling it to modern taste. The quaintness of the Elizabethan style is not a thing of words merely; it requires the intellect of the age, the fine ethereal quality which it enclosed, in order to command respect, or to minister to our pleasure. Apart from these, it is dull and affected prose, destitute alike of point and brilliancy. Now these qualities are of rare occurrence, and, when they exist, their natural medium is the speech proper to the age, to the use of which their possessor has been trained. To attempt a conversation between such men as Spenser, Chaucer, Shakspere, and Ben Jonson, is to hazard an almost certain failure; and we need not, therefore, be surprised that Mr. Warwick's labors are not altogether successful. If, however, our first feeling was that of disappointment, a very different one arose when we proceeded to examine the general contents of the volume. The design of the work is 'to illustrate the extent of homage which our best poets, prior to the present century, have paid to Nature, in flowers—her most delicately beautiful productions.' The volume is, in consequence, a History of the Poetry of Flowers; and the extracts given are arranged chronologically, and grouped according to their subjects. The selections made are, with trifling exceptions, from our elder poets. This is as it should be; and no lover of pure verse, especially if he be a votary of Flora, will regret the preference shewn to our elder bards. 'It is in this respect, and in its chronological and systematic arrangement, that this compilation will be found principally to differ from its predecessors, in all of which the old poets have been neglected to make room for our contemporaries, whose writings are in every one's hands.' The commencement of each chapter is embellished by a flower-border, from the faithful pencil of Mr. H. N. Humphreys, whose knowledge as a naturalist is so happily combined with correct taste, and the power of skilful delineation.

Altogether, the volume constitutes one of the most beautiful of the season, and may take its place, without fear of comparison, by the side of the most costly occupant of the drawing-room.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book. 1848. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London : Fisher and Co.

'FISHER'S Drawing Room Scrap-Book,' is like the memorial of a past generation. It has survived nearly all its contemporaries ; but its countenance is yet full of bloom, its voice is soft and pleasant, and its companionship by the fire-side of winter is as agreeable as ever. We do not regret the disappearance of the class to which it belongs. It was evidently ephemeral, and its influence was made up of good and evil. One beneficial result, however, has followed. The public mind has been familiarised with works of art, and its taste has thereby been improved. A want has been created which our artists are now seeking to gratify in connexion with works of sterling literary merit. This is as it should be ; and we shall be glad to find that public patronage is sufficiently afforded, to induce our most skilful artists to continue their present useful labors. The 'Drawing Room Scrap-Book' does not profess to furnish original engravings. The plates are selected from numerous illustrated works published by Messrs. Fisher, and in the present case are thirty-six in number. They furnish considerable variety of subject, and are distinguished by different degrees of artistic merit. As they have mostly passed under notice in other forms, we need not now attempt to discriminate their qualities.

The volume is edited, like that of last year, by the Hon. Mrs. Norton, the attractive peculiarities of whose muse are distinctly traceable in the literary illustrations. The poet must always labor at a disadvantage when his subjects are selected for him, and we, therefore, wonder at the degree of excellence attained in cases like the present, rather than feel disappointed at any short-comings. The general cast of the poetry is scarcely equal to that of last year, though there are some beautiful exceptions ; amongst which we may mention, 'The Queen's Chamber at Fontainebleau,' 'The Nun,' and 'The Earthquake.' We need scarcely add that, like its predecessors, the volume for 1848 will be a graceful decoration of any drawing-room table on which it may lie.

The History of Greece. By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. In Eight Volumes 8vo. Vol. IV. New Edition. London : Longman and Co.

WE have so frequently expressed our high opinion of this work, that we need only announce at present, the appearance of another volume of the library edition, which brings down the history to the peace of Antaleidas, in the year 387, B.C. The production of such a work, with the contemporaneous appearance of that of Mr. Grote, reflects no trifling honor on the scholarship of our country. We hail them as joint emanations, varying in form, but kindred in spirit, of that more accurate, profound, and generous erudition which is now throwing its light on the misapprehended passages of past history. To the scholar we need not recommend Bishop Thirlwall's history, but to all other classes we say, 'You will defraud yourselves if you do not attentively study its condensed yet luminous pages.'

The Convict: a Tale. By G. P. R. James, Esq. Three Volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THIS is one of the most successful of Mr. James's late publications, and may be read without hesitation by persons of all ages. Its scene is laid in recent times, and its chief characters are sketched with great skill. It does not assume the rank of a historical novel, but is described by the author as 'a very simple story,' told 'in the simplest possible manner.' This is the language of modest appreciation, and if any reader concludes from it that the work is deficient in skilful construction, or exhibits few traces of nice discrimination in the sketching of individual portraits, he will speedily change his opinion. We commenced its perusal with misgivings, arising from the obvious rapidity of its production; but had not proceeded far, before we saw reason to conclude that it was superior to all its more immediate predecessors, in the power of engaging the deep and earnest interest of a reader. The characters of Edward Dudley, and of Sir Arthur Adelon and his son Edgar, are ably drawn; while those of Mr. Clive, Mr. Norries, and Martin Oldkirk, are accurate representatives of distinct English classes. Eda, and Helen Clive, are beautiful portraits of feminine virtue, and Mr. Filmer, the Jesuit priest Father Peter, is, we fear, too correct a likeness of a class once more numerous and active amongst us. Mr. James has expended considerable labor on the last portrait, and in the dark policy assigned to the Jesuit, has exposed himself to the censure of the false liberals of the day. To this he refers in his preface, and urges, in his own defence, that his representation of Father Peter does nothing more than embodies principles which he has heard avowed 'by a living man,' and deeds 'which there is much reason to believe that living man performed.' We fear there is too much truth in this, and much, therefore, as we are opposed to the party spirit which attributes to a class the worst qualities of its most depraved members, we are compelled to admit the correctness of the likeness drawn. History throws a fearful light on the policy of this body, the principles of which sanction any violation of truth or sacrifice of individual rights, to advance the interests of the papacy.

The chief interest of the fiction lies in the earlier and latter portions. The foreign scenes rather injure the impression, while some of the most interesting portions of the narrative—as, for instance, the trial and expatriation of Edward Dudley—are slurred over in a manner which be-speaks the haste with which the work has been prepared. The author, it would seem, could not spare time to elaborate with sufficient care this crisis in his hero's fate.

The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack for 1848. London: John Snow.
pp. 64.

The Congregational Calendar for 1848. Published for the Congregational Union. London: Jackson and Walford. pp. 80.

THESE Almanacks contain a large amount of information in common, and we are not disposed to prosecute the invidious task of comparing

their merits. The former is unquestionably our favorite, and is more adapted, in our judgment, to meet the requirements of the present day. It is *dissenting*, and not *denominational*, and contains a large mass of information, and much sound advice, on all points pertaining to the ecclesiastical policy of the age. Mr. Cassell, by whom it has been prepared, thoroughly sympathizes with the aggressive attitude of dissent; and in reference to the efforts which are being made to dissociate the church from the state, informs us that, 'to contribute in some small measure towards such a glorious consummation, 'The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack' has been constructed.' The work, moreover, is published at threepence, being half the price of its contemporary.

To those, however, who are specially anxious for denominational intelligence, 'The Congregational Calendar' will be the most acceptable. Though its ecclesiastical information is not exclusively congregational, it is mainly such, and considerable diligence and extensive research are evinced in its pages. Why is it that the editor persists in excluding 'The British Anti-State-Church Association' from his list of 'Religious and Benevolent Societies?' We noticed the omission last year, and are sorry to find that he has not learned wisdom by what has since occurred.

The Inundation; or, Peace and Pardon. A Christmas Story. By Mrs. Gore. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank. London: Fisher and Co.

THIS is a trashy volume, written, we presume, *to order*, in order to meet the fashion set by Mr. Dickens. We should be sorry to see the holidays of our youths employed in the perusal of such small ware, and counsel the writers of fiction, if they would retain their hold on this class, to show them greater respect, by providing for them works of more sterling merit.

A Letter from Rome, shewing an Exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism; or, the Religion of the Present Romans to be derived entirely from that of their Heathen Ancestors. By Conyers Middleton, D.D. *New Edition, with an Abridgment of the Author's Reply to 'A Romanist.'* London: Grant and Griffith.

THE choice of Middleton's celebrated 'Letter' for a reprint at the present time is highly seasonable and judicious. To those of our readers who are not already acquainted with its merits, we seriously urge the immediate purchase of the publication. There was certainly not much need for Middleton to visit Rome in search of paganism. He might have found enough, had he looked for it in the establishment of this country. But to the deformities of his own church his eyes, no doubt, were blinded by gratitude and filial affection; and the only wonder is, that those of the grandmother church were not spared through a kindred feeling.

Liberty of Conscience Illustrated; and the Social Relations sustained by Christians as Members of the Commonwealth considered. By J. W. Massie, D.D., M.R.I.A. Published by request. London: John Snow.

DR. MASSIE is an able and an earnest man, who has rendered good service to the cause of religious liberty on many trying occasions. We thank him for what he has done, and most heartily commend to the favor of our readers, this last production of his pen. The publication consists of the substance of lectures delivered at Liverpool, Birmingham, and several other cities and towns, on one of the most important, and at the present moment most engrossing, subjects which can occupy public attention. We greatly rejoice in the extent to which Dr. Massie's labors, as a lecturer were carried, and can bear witness to the deep interest with which his addresses were received. He has done wisely in acceding to the earnest request of friends to publish his lectures, and we trust that they will receive a wide circulation. They evince extensive historical reading, a right appreciation of the worthies of the seventeenth century, a deep sympathy with the friends of religious liberty, a most commendable independence, and a measure of ability which is entitled to great respect.

Memoranda Catholica; or, Notes on Ecclesiastical History. By Anglicus. London: E. Churton.

IN the first Part of this work, the only one we have yet seen, the author has recorded many interesting details of ecclesiastical history; but in a manner too desultory, partial, and unsupported by authentic references, to render them of much service. With the quiet and apparently unconscious assurance of his order, he makes the sacred writers, without putting himself or his readers to the trouble of examining the scriptures, parties to his episcopal notions of church government; and his 'Memoranda Catholica' shew him to be anything but catholic in his views on that subject. He assures us, with as much confidence as if the statements never had been or could be doubted, that the apostles were 'priests'; that the first deacons 'received their office from the apostles'; that James was the first bishop who filled 'the episcopal chair at Jerusalem'; that Jerusalem was 'the parent see'; that Peter occupied 'the episcopal chair at Antioch'; that, some years afterward, 'he established himself in the see of Rome,' and that the meeting of the church at Jerusalem was an ecclesiastical council, Paul and Barnabas having been sent from Antioch 'to consult the parent see.' Our author, we presume, is an Anglican priest, and therefore says nothing about popes and cardinals, purgatory or transubstantiation. But we beg leave respectfully to remind him, that the sacred writers never speak of apostolic priests, an episcopal chair, a parent see, or an ecclesiastical council, without, at the same time, mentioning all the saints of the Romish calendar.

The Recreation. A Gift Book for Young Readers. With Engravings.
Edinburgh: John Murgins.

THIS is a very favourite book with our young people, and—why should we not confess the fact?—not altogether unacceptable to ourselves. It is a fascinating companion during a leisure half hour, and may serve, not altogether unprofitably, to while away some of the gloomy moments of winter. The present volume contains the usual variety of topics, and will be found fully equal to its predecessors.

The Vocation of the Scholar. By Johan Gottlieb Fitche. Translated from the German, by William Smith. London: John Chapman. 1847.

AN elegant and spirited translation of a work, replete with the characteristic subtlety and boldness of the German genius, without much of its imagination. Those moralists, who have more confidence in the wisdom of this world than in that 'which cometh from above,' will doubtless find in 'The Vocation of the Scholar' a publication exactly to their taste; nor will a work, which so strongly exemplifies the difficulties with which the most powerful minds incumber themselves, when, disregarding revelation, they endeavour to work out the problem of social improvement, be read without deep interest and pity by the Christian philosopher. It is the production of an earnest, profound, and philanthropic mind, and contains many noble and exalted sentiments; but it declares man to be the end of his own existence; and is an evident attempt to make him virtuous without religion, and happy without God.

The Triumph of Henry VIII. over the Usurpations of the Church, and the Consequences of the Royal Supremacy; a Paper read to the Philosophical Institute, September 25th, 1846. By George Offor, Esq. Published at the unanimous request of the President and Members. London: Henry Campkin.

IN a series of very curious and extraordinary extracts from black-letter testimony, Mr. Offor has given, under the above title, an original and deeply interesting, though succinct, history of the rise and overthrow of the papal abomination in this country. Sentiments, however, opposed to the observance of the Lord's-day, and the maintenance of the Christian ministry, disfigure the work. These, with one or two instances of careless writing, will, in the next edition, demand the author's attention. If he cannot conscientiously expunge them, it is due, at least, to the public, that he should examine, much more closely than he seems to have done, the testimony of Scripture respecting them. With these exceptions we give the work our hearty commendation.

Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer, Sixteen Years Missionary to the Chinese. By Ewen Davies, author of 'China and her Spiritual Claims.' pp. 303. London: John Snow. 1846.

THE publication of wisely written accounts of missionary lives and labours are calculated to sustain and direct the missionary spirit in our churches. Mr. Dyer deserved this honor, and the description of his course furnished by Mr. Davies, is as instructive and interesting as that of any we have seen. We trust this record of his worth will meet with the acceptance which it richly merits from the Christian public.

The Lads of the Factory; with Friendly Hints on their Duties and Dangers. Religious Tract Society.

THE design of this little work is to teach and enforce moral and religious lessons by example. The class whose welfare is contemplated is a very important and very exposed one. The instruction here communicated, in the form of 'scenes and characters from real life,' possesses general adaptation to their circumstances and wants.

A Brief Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. By the Rev. Alexander S. Patterson, Glasgow. pp. 126. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co.

WE see no particular reason for the publication of this work. It is just such an one as any evangelical minister or layman might write. The sentiments are sound, the style is simple, the tendency, to promote piety, but these, we imagine, are not sufficient qualifications for theological works in the present day, and least of all for commentaries.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times. By John Angell James. 3rd Edition.

The Convict. A Tale. By G. P. R. James, Esq. In 3 vols.

Athanase. A Dramatic Poem. By Edwin F. Roberts.

The Recreation. A Gift-book for Young Readers.

Religious Liberty and the Church in Chains; being an attempt to set forth the grounds upon which a number of the Clergy are at present associated to obtain a restoration of corrective discipline in the English Church. By James Bradby Sweet, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Woodville, Leicester.

Oxford Protestant Magazine. No. IX.

The Philosophy of Geology. By A. C. G. Jobert. 2nd Edition.

The Modern Orator. By C. J. Fox. Part IX.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by W. Smith, LL.D. Part XXII. Photius—Pompeius.

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